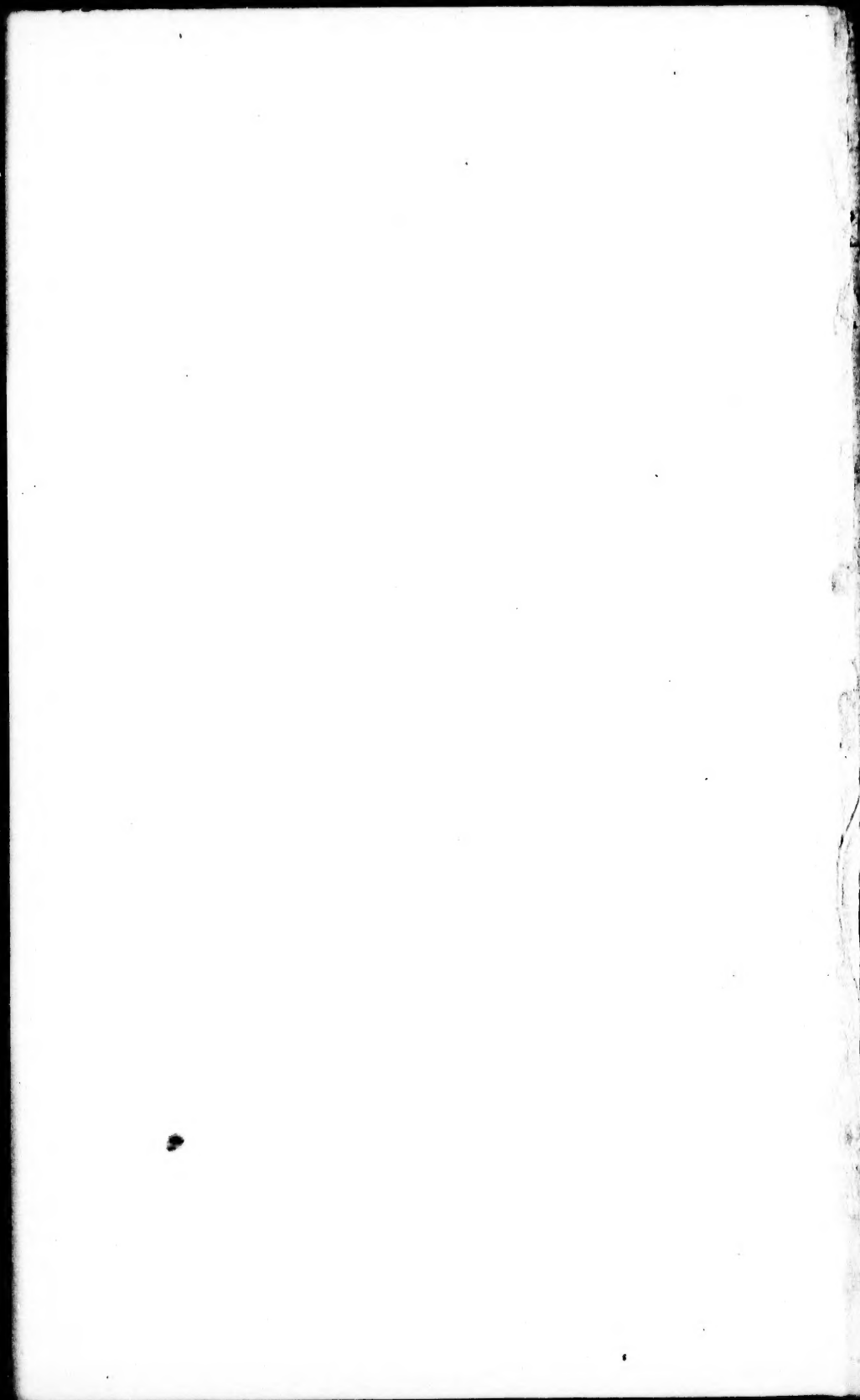




THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
FRENCH,

With Regard to

NOVA SCOTIA;

From its first Settlement to the
present Time.

In which are exposed the Falschood and Absur-
dity of their Arguments made use of to elude
the Force of the Treaty of UTRECHT, and
support their unjust Proceedings.

In a Letter to a Member of Parliament.

(Thomas Jefferys)

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. JEFFERYS, Geographer to His Royal
Highness the Prince of Wales, at the Corner of St.
Martin's Lane, near Charing Cross.

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THE
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OF THE
FRENCH

NOVA SCOTIA;

From the first Settlement to the
present Time.

In which are exposed the Failings and Abuses
of the first Colonies made by the French
in the Province of Nova Scotia, and
the manner of their settling.

By J. G. de la Potherie, Esq.

LONDON:
Printed by J. G. de la Potherie, Esq.
in the Strand, near the Theatre Royal.
1764.

THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
FRENCH

With respect to the
British Dominions in America,
particularly NOVA SCOTIA.

S I R,

THE present encroachments of the *French* upon *Nova Scotia*, one of the most valuable *British* Colonies, is a matter of so extraordinary a nature, and so injurious to the nation in general, that every true friend to his country ought to be fully acquainted with it. For this reason, as I have made it my business, tho' a private person, to enquire into the motives of their daring conduct, I thought it my duty to communicate to the public my observations thereupon ; in which I propose to make appear, that the proceedings of the *French*, on this occasion, is one of the most flagrant insults upon both the majesty and understanding of the *British* nation that ever could be attempted. Their design is nothing less than to wrest from us

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a spacious province, which was originally our own; and which, not many years since they had given up, and confirmed, to us, by the most solemn treaties. With this view they have entered and settled in the very heart of it, in defiance of all our remonstrances; seizing above two parts in three of the whole. To justify this invasion of our territories, they pretend that we are entitled to no more than the small share they have left us, which is at most the peninsula or southern division of *Nova Scotia*; and supporting their injustice by force, have actually built forts at the entrance of that peninsula, where we remain, as it were, penned up by them, till such time as, by a due exertion of our power, they shall be obliged to withdraw beyond the river of *St. Lawrence*.

They have stuck at nothing to give a colour to this open infraction of the *Utrecht* treaty, and violation of the faith of nations. Their geographers and historians have been influenced to prostitute their pens in the most shameful manner, to serve the injurious cause; and their principals, who set them to work, have not been ashamed afterwards to make use of such corrupt evidence, consisting of the lowest chicanery and most barefaced falsifications, as the chief, and in effect the only arguments on which they ground their pretensions. In short, their reasons are so consummately fallacious, inconsistent and trifling, that their defence of the injury ought to be taken for sneer, and is no less provoking than the injury it self.

The *English*, by right of discovery of the *Cabots*, in 1497, claim all *North America*, from

34 to 66 or 67 degrees of north latitude; to which they gave no name or names, only that of the *Newfoundlands*: but neglecting to settle in those parts, the *French*, conducted by *James Cartier*, in 1534, went into the river of *Canada* or *St. Lawrence*, and took possession. Afterwards, in 1562, they made another settlement in *Florida*, as it was then called, in the latitude of 34 degrees, which fell in *South Carolina*. To these settlements they pretended a right by the discovery of *Verrazzano*, in 1524, from 34 to 50 degrees of latitude, altho' it was 27 years posterior to that of the *Cabots*; to all which extent of country they gave the name of *New France*.

After a long interruption of near 100 years, the *French*, in 1603, began to renew their voyages to *Canada*; and not content herewith, in a few years more made settlements in the country then called *La Cadiâ*, not only on the south coast of the peninsula, and at *Port Royal*, but also on the coasts to the north of the bay of *Argal* or *Fundy* (called by them *Baye St. Francoise*,) at the river of *Pentagoet* 30 leagues south-west of the river *St. Croix*. All this while they met with little or no opposition from the *English*: but in 1613 the governor of *Virginia* finding that the *French* had not only intruded northward, within the *English* discoveries, but had also encroached within his limits, the place above mentioned lying below the latitude of 45 (to which the grant in 1606 from King *James I.* to chief justice *Popham* and others, extended) sent commodore *Argal* with 3 ships, who demolished their forts, ruined their colonies, and carried away several of them prisoners.

To secure this country more effectually to the crown of *England*, a few years after, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* being governor of *New England*, persuaded Sir *William Alexander*, secretary of state for *Scotland* (afterwards earl of *Stirling* and viscount *Canada*) to obtain from King *James I.* a grant of all the country to the north of the *Virginia* patent, or beyond 45 degrees, and to the south of *Canada*, under the name of *New Scotland*. Sir *William* accordingly applied to the King, and in 1625 obtained a grant of the lands bounded on the west by the river *St. Croix*; on the north by the great river of *Canada*; on the east by a line drawn through the gulph of *St. Laurence* to the east of *Cape Britain* island, which therefore became a part of it; and on the south by the ocean: which country (considered before under the common name of *Virginia*) whose bounds are with great minuteness and precision ascertained in the said patent*, the King appointed

* The words of the patent, so far as relate to the subject in question, are as follow. Dedimus, concessimus, et disposuimus, teneroque presenti chartæ nostræ, damus, concedimus, et disponimus præfecto domino Willielmo Alexandro, hæredibus suis vel assignatis quibuscunque hæreditarie, omnes et singulas terras, continentis, ac insulas, situatas et jacentes in America, inter caput seu promontorium, communiter Cap. de Sable appellatum, jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum, aut ab eo circa, ab equinoxiali linea versus septentrionem, à quo promontorio versus littus maris tendentis ad occidentem, ad stationem Sanctæ Mariæ navium (vulgo *St. Mary's bay*); et deinceps versus septentrionem per directam lineam introitum sive ostium magræ illius stationis navium, trajicientem, quæ excurrit in terræ Orientalem Plagam, inter regionis Suriquorum et Etechemmorum (vulgo *Suriquois* et *Etechemines*), ad fluvium vulgo nomine Sanctæ Crucis appellatum, et ad scaturigenem remotissimam, sive fontem ex occidentali parte ejusdem qui se primum prædicto fluvio immiscet, unde per imaginariam directam lineam, quæ pergere
per

pointed for the future should be called *New Scotland*. And King *Charles* I. created afterwards for this new kingdom an order of Barons, which still subsists.

As this country is naturally divided by a great gulf or arm of the sea into two parts; to the north the main land, and to the south a large peninsula; Sir *William*, pursuant to the power which he had by his patent, divided it accord-

per terram, seu currere versus septentrionem concipietur ad proximam navium stationem fluvium vel scaturiginem in magno fluvio de Cannada sese exonerantem. Et ab eo pergendo versus orientem per maris oras littorales ejusdem fluvii de Cannada, ad fluvium stationem navium portum aut littus communiter nomine de Gachepe vel Gaspie notum et appellatum; et deinceps versus Euronotum ad insulas Bacalaos vel Cap. Briton vocatos, relinquendo easdem insulas à dextra, et voraginem dicti magni fluvii de Cannada, sive magno stationis navium, et terras de Newfoundland, cum insulis ad easdem terras pertinentibus à sinistra: et deinceps ad caput sive promontorium de Cap. Briton prædictum, jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta quinque graduum, aut eo circa. Et à dicto promontorio de Cap. Briton, versus meridiem et occidentem ad prædictum Cap. Sable, ubi incipit perambulatio, includenda et comprehenda intra dictas maris, oras, littorales, ac earum intra dictas maris, oras, littorales, ac earum circumferentias à mari, ad omnes terras continentis, cum fluminibus, torrentibus, sinubus, littoribus, insulis aut maribus jacentibus prope infra sex leucas ad aliquam earundem partem, ex occidentali, boreali, vel orientali partibus, orarum, littoralium, et præcinctuum earundem. Et ab euro noto (uti jacet Cap. Britton) et ex australi parte ejusdem ubi est Cap. de Sable omnia maria ac insulas versus meridiem intra quadraginta leucas dictarum orarum littoralium earundem magnam insulam vulgari-ter appellatam Isle de Sable, vel Sablon, includen. jacen-versus carban (vulgo south-south-east), circa triginta leucas à dicto Cap. Britton, in mari, et existen. in latitudine quadraginta quatuor graduum, aut eo circa. Quæ quidem terræ prædictæ omni tempore à futuro nomine *Nova Scotia* in America gaudebunt; quas etiam præfatus dominus Willielmus in partes et portiones, sicut ei visum fuerit dividet, iisdemque nomina pro beneplacito imponet, una cum omnibus fodinis, tum regalibus, auri et argenti, quam aliis fodinis, ferri, plumbi, cupri, stanni, æris, &c.

ingly into two provinces, and gave new names to almost all the rivers and ports, and even translating the names of those given by the settlers into *English*, that no traces, if possible, of the *French* might remain in the country; as appears by the map of *Nova Scotia* * *still extant*, which by his orders was made and published. These then are the *ancient* or rather the *most ancient* bounds of *New Scotland*: but not all which the *English*, under that name, claim by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

Charlevoix, whose late history of *New France* is the fund of falsehood and error, from whence the *French* on this occasion draw all their arguments, acknowledges, "That in several treaties he finds the name of *New Scotland* ascribed sometimes to the peninsula, exclusive of the south coast † [or country lying to the south of the river] of *Canada*, and sometimes to that coast, exclusive of the peninsula;" but says, "it cannot be proved by any authentic memoir, that they both went by that name at the same time." Here is now an authentic memoir: I mean the patent granted to Sir *William Alexander*, corroborated by his map, in which that requisite is found. And this single evidence is sufficient to shew the vanity of all that author's suggestions.

To take away the force of the objection which might be brought from his confession, that the name of *Nova Scotia* has been given

* This map is inserted in *Purchas's* collection of voyages, Vol. iv. p. 1872.

† By south coast is to be understood all the country south of the river *St. Laurence*. see p. 410. par. 3. of *Charlevoix* Hist. Gen. de la *Nouv. Franc.* tho' he uses the ambiguous expression, in order to mislead or deceive his reader.

in treaties to the continent as well as the peninsula, he says they are modern changes; *whereas the dispute between the English and the French is about the ancient bounds of Acadia or Nova Scotia*, he ought to have said of *Nova Scotia or Acadia*; on which occasion he affirms, *that what the English first named Nova Scotia, was no more than the coast of Acadia, from Cape Sable (or Cape Sandy, as 'tis called in Sir William Alexander's map) to Camceau **. Now the falsity of this is proved from the above-cited evidence, by which it appears that the first time the name of *Nova Scotia* was used by the *English*, it was given by them to all the country in question south of the river of *Canada*. This is something decisive: there was nothing then to be done, but either to allow this evidence to be good, to deny its validity, or else produce it in favour of his assertion. The first he would not do, the second he could not do, but the last he ventured on; accordingly he has the front to affirm, *that in England it self the name of Nova Scotia is given solely to the peninsula: for that, adds he, "William Alexander earl of Stirling having received a grant of what had been taken from France, in this part of Canada, divided the same into two provinces, calling the peninsula New Scotland, and gave to the rest the name of New Alexandria."* For this he quotes *De Laet*, a very eminent author, who has, as he says, inserted the grant it self.

Here the jesuit is guilty of great prevarication; first, he suppresses what appears from *De Laet*†, that the general name of the country,

* Charlev. Hist. Gen. de la Nouv. Fran. tom. i. p. 113.

† See his *Novus Orbis*, L. ii. c. 23.

which was so divided by Sir *William Alexander*, was called *New Scotland*. 2. If *De Laet* had said the contrary, yet he knew, by the words of the patent it self, inserted by that author, that the name of *New Scotland* was ordered from thenceforth to be given to the whole; and therefore could not be given by the *English* only to a part. 3. *De Laet* calls the peninsula *New Caledonia*, not *New Scotland*, into which *Charlevoix* has changed it, that his readers should think the same name being given to a part, could not be given to the whole; altho' this is a common case. 4. *Charlevoix* has suppressed the mention of the map of *New Scotland*, from whence *De Laet* says he took those particulars, that the reader might not look after this map; whence it may be concluded that *Charlevoix* had himself seen it. Ought any credit to be given to such an abandoned writer as this? Or any use made of his authority? The map referred to by *De Laet*, who wrote in 1633, was no doubt the same we have already mentioned; for he says it was but lately published, and that besides changing the names of provinces, new names are given to other places, conformably to what hath been already observed. In that map, the names of the two provinces of *Alexandria* and *Caledonia* are engraved in small roman letters, and that of *New Scotland* in large capitals, distributed into both provinces.

Whether *Charlevoix* saw this map, or not, he must have been either wilfully or ignorantly blind to excess, in affirming that the *English* give the name of *Nova Scotia* solely to the peninsula, since the contrary may be seen in their maps; and even in the maps of the *French* themselves, at least, those made when the country

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was in *English* hands. In a chart of the gulph of *St. Lawrence* and *Canada*, made by *Le Cordier*, at *Havre de Grace*, in 1696, and published by authority of the admiral, the name of *New Scotland* is given to the *North Main*, or that part called *New Alexandria*, in *Sir William Alexander's* map. But, supposing him ignorant of this, and many more instances in maps made before his time, how could he be ignorant of what is inserted in his own work, and passed under his own eye? I mean the map of the *Eastern part of New France* or *Canada*, (as it is intitled) made in 1744 by *Mr. Bellin*, for his history of that country, wherein the name of *Nova Scotia* is given to the *North Main*?

On this occasion, it may be observed as a common rule, that they who confess *against* themselves, are more to be believed than those who deny *for* themselves. But, in thus opposing one *french* authority to another, I do not quote one of their ordinary geographers: for *Mr. Bellin* is hydrographer to the marine, as well as censor royal; and his contradicting the author whom he was employ'd to illustrate, gives a double force to his authority.—If therefore, in a subsequent map of the same country, he hath omitted the name of *Nova Scotia*, it was not, as may be presumed, in consequence of being better informed, but because he was otherwise directed or inclined.

Having reduced the ancient bounds of *Nova Scotia* to one of it's southern coasts, it was necessary to make those of *Acadia* tally with them; that the *English* might not be intitled to more, under one denomination, than they could claim

claim by the other. In attempting to do this, *Charlevoix* has discovered no less ignorance and fourberie, than in the former instances. He is willing indeed to allow, "that *Acadia* [to whose " bounds he would confine *Nova Scotia*] includes the whole peninsula, in the opinion of " all the best geographers and historians, particularly *De Laet*, excepting *Champlain* and " *Denys*. The first, he says, gives, in his voyages, chap. 8. the name of *Acadia* to no more " than the south-coast of the peninsula; which " he proves from these words, The *sieur de Pont*, " with the commission of the *sieur de Monts*, " went to *Canceau*, and along the coast of *Cape Briton*: the *sieur de Monts* shaped his course " more at large towards the coasts of *Acadia**." From this jesuitical logic we learn two things.

1. That the coasts of a country are the whole country; or that *France* having coasts, is nothing but coast. 2. That sailing towards the coasts of a country, implies sailing towards the south coasts of it: consequently to the coast of *Languedoc* and *Provence*, if applied to *France*. What accuracy may we not expect from an historian so acute in his reasonings, and just in his distinctions? I might add so quick sighted and discerning: for he did not see that his false assertion is refuted by the very passage which he produces to prove it; since, if *Acadia* be no more than coasts, the island of *Cape Briton* must be no more, nor so much: It must be only a single coast, while *Acadia* will consist of several coasts.

But, what must be thought of the honesty of this jesuit, who perverts the meaning of an author in one place, to make him contradict

* *Charlevoix*, *ibid.* p. 112.

what he has declared in several places? At the end of that very chapter from whence he has made the above quotation, *Champlain* tells us "that he was three years and a half in *Acadia*, "part of the time at *St. Croix*, [which is on the "north main] and part at *Port Royal**." And pursuant to his promise in the same place, which is at the end of his first book, employs his whole second book, to describe *Acadia* conformable to that declaration. 'Tis true *Champlain* only describes the coasts: but so far was he from limiting *Acadia* to a bare coast, that he expressly says p. 65. *the great River St. Lawrence runs along the side of Acadia and Norimbegua*; which is, in other words, to say that those provinces extended so far, or that it bounded them to the north. This ought to be allowed for a definitive sentence in the case, and from which there should be no appeal: since *Champlain* having been 27 years in those parts, and for a long time governor of them, could not possibly be mistaken in this point; and as he went over with the first discoverer *De Monts*, in 1603, must have been acquainted with the ancient bounds of *Acadia*, which it may therefore be presumed are those which he mentions.

* Il ne sera hors de propos de descrire les descouvertes de ces costes, pendant trois ans & demy que je fus à l'*Acadia*, tant à l'habitation de *Sainte Croix*, q'au *Port Royal*, ou j'eus moyen de voir, et descourir le tout, comme il se verra au livre suivant. p. 48. These words confirm what is less explicitly delivered in the page foregoing, where he says that "since *De Monts* would not settle on the river *St. Lawrence*, "he ought to have sought out a place not so liable to be deserted as was *St. Croix* and *Port Royal*." He adds, that "in case *De Monts* had taken such precaution, the people "would not have abandoned the country in three years and a "half, as they had done *Acadia*," namely *St. Croix* and *Port Royal*.

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If it should be said, the passage only proves, that the river *St. Lawrence* was the northern boundary of *Acadia*, when he wrote, but not that it was the ancient or most ancient boundary: we say that is begging the question, and will be of no avail, unless they can shew, from express authority, that before his time it had a different boundary.

But this cannot be done from the authority of any contemporary voyager to the same parts: for neither the author of *De Mont's* voyage, nor *Lescarbot*, ascertain the bounds of *Acadia*. The reason is, because they do not enter into a geographical description of it, and only speak of it's limits occasionally; which is the case indeed with *Champlain* himself: for altho' he mentions the northern bounds of *Acadia*, he does not tell us precisely what the western were; we can only gather by inference in general, that it was bounded on that side by the province of *Norimbegua*, from the circumstance of the river *St. Lawrence* washing the borders of that province as well as those of *Acadia*.

However, the defect here may be supplied from the authority of Count *D'Estrades*, who in his conferences with King *Charles II.* relating to the bounds of this country alledged, " That in consequence of the treaty of *St. Germain*, in 1632, restitution was made to *France* [of all the country] from *Quebek* to the River of *Noremburg* [or *Penobscot*] where *Pentagoët* is built, which, says he, is the first place of *Acadia**".

* See his letter of March 13, 1662, to the king, in his *Ambass. et Negotiat.* tom. ii. p. 368.

It is plain therefore, that this objection is of no force. Neither can it be pretended, that because this edition of *Champlain's* voyage to *New France* was published in 1632, the year in which the treaty of *St. Germain* was signed, therefore *Champlain* speaks not of the original bounds of *Acadia*, but of those established by *Lewis XIII.* after that treaty : for the grant to *Razilly*, which first ascertained the bounds of *Acadia*, by regal authority, was not made till the year following. Besides, by *Lewis's* grant *Norimbegua* was incorporated with *Acadia*, as being comprized under that name ; whereas *Champlain* speaks of it as a distinct province, separate from it. It is more likely therefore that *Lewis* followed the authority of *Champlain* for the bounds of *Acadia*, than that he followed the king's.

Let us now return to *Charlevoix*, and ask ; whether is it more likely that these things could escape his observation, or that he wilfully overlooked them ? This historian of *New France* thought it better, it seems, to let authors appear to differ in their accounts, and leave the bounds of *Acadia* undetermined, than produce the testimony of *Champlain* which he knew would at once overthrow all his scheme ; as he is revered and stiled by the *French*, the father and founder of their settlements in *Canada*. But what could be his view by such conduct ? Nothing sure but to perplex the cause for a time : for he could not but well know that this passage as well as others of *Champlain*, which he had suppressed, would e'er long be produced against him, out of that author's voyages.

As for *De Laet's* opinion, about the bounds of *Acadia*, it must be considered that his *Nova Orbis*

Orbis was printed before he saw the edition of *Champlain's* voyages published in 1632; although his own work was not published till the year after: this appears from his own words, l. 2. c. 22. where he says he had made use of *Champlain's* memoirs, but could find no account of the *French* affairs, after the year 1616; consequently the voyages he consulted were those printed in 1614, or in 1619, in 8vo. Had he seen the others he would never have limited *Acadia* to the peninsula, but have fix'd its northern bounds at the river *St. Lawrence*. But, supposing he had not; his dissent, tho' a learned and judicious writer, yet would not in the least have alter'd the case or lessen'd the authority of *Champlain*. For, after all, questions of this nature are to be decided solely by the relation of travellers. The opinions of geographers are not to be regarded farther than as they appear to be supported by the authority of such persons; from whom they ought to take their information.

But to proceed: if *Denys* then is of the same sentiments with *Champlain*, with respect to the ancient bounds or extent of *Acadia*, as *Charlevoix* affirms; those sentiments must be widely different from what that candid author affirms they are, for he says *Denys* also reduced them to a bare coast. After so many flagrant instances of his want of truth, it may be presumed that the reader will not take his word for any thing; and we might be spared the farther trouble of giving any of his assertions a formal refutation: but as it must have cost him no small pains to broach so many glaring falsehoods, it would be doing injustice, both to his abilities and labours that way, not to make the public thoroughly acquainted with them.

To support his said assertion, with respect to *Denys*, he has inserted the following paragraph, in his history. " This person (*Denys*) divides " into four provinces, all the east and south part " of *Canada*, which in his time had four proprie- " taries, who were lieutenant-generals for the " king. The first (extending) from *Pentagoët* to " *St. John's* river, he named the province of the " *Etechemins*, and is that which was formerly call- " ed *Norembegua* : to the second, from *St. John's* " river to *Cape Sable*, he gave the name of " *French Bay* : the third, according to him, is " *Acadia*, from *Cape Sable* to *Camceaux* ; and " that is it which the *English* at first named *Nova* " *Scotia*, on the occasion which I shall men- " tion presently : the fourth, which was his own " property, and government, from *Camceaux* to " *Cape Rosiers*, he called *Bay St. Lawrence*, " which others have called *Gaspésie**.

Now taking things as *Charlevoix* represents them, this was only an occasional division of the country, made by the proprietaries ; in which, for distinction's sake, the name of *Acadia* was given to one of the provinces : but he does not make *Denys* say that the bounds which are here given to it are the original bounds of *Acadia* ; nor does it follow from the division itself being so made, that the name of *Acadia* did originally extend no farther : for in the partition of countries the bounds of provinces are frequently changed, contracted or enlarged ; of which *Charlevoix* furnisheth an instance, with respect to *Acadia* itself. For in another division, which he mentions elsewhere †, of the country into three

* Hist. Gen. de la *Nouv. France*, vol. i. p. 113. edit. 1744.

† P. 410.

parts,

parts, and in which also *Denys* was concerned, the second, which was given to *La Tour*, contained half, or perhaps more, of the peninsula : for “ *be bad*, says the jesuit, *Acadia*, properly so “ called, from *Port Royal* to *Camceaux* :” that is, as it must be understood, by a line drawn from one place to the other ; so that all to the south of it belonged to *La Tour*.

That there was such a division as this we shall not dispute : but supposing this to have been the earliest of the two divisions (which we are at liberty to do, since there is nothing said in the place which requires the contrary) it overthrows *Charlevoix*’s assertion, that *Acadia* was only a bare coast ; much more his affirming that it extended only from *Cape Sable* to *Camceaux*. It goes farther, and, from the expression *Acadia proper*, implies, what we have above suggested, that this was only a part of a larger country, which went by the name of *Acadia*, in general, according to a known rule in geography.

It is not at all unjustifiable in us, to suppose this to have been the first division of the two ; since it was in the time of *Razilly*, to whom it was granted in 1633, and *Charlevoix* does not tell us which was the first. But the truth is, that the quadrupartite division was a forgery contrived by that jesuitical historian, only to corroborate his misconstruction of the words of *Champlain*, and support one falsehood by another : for *Denys* mentions no such division of the country, much less under the name of *Canada*, as *Charlevoix* affirms ; nor indeed any division at all of it, either in his first book, or the map pre-
fixed

fixed to it. In the body of his book he never, to the best of our recollection, mentions *Canada*, nor ever *Acadia*, except it may be in the sixth chapter of his first volume ; where he says, that *Long Isle* makes a passage from *French Bay* to the land (not the coast) of *Acadia* ; and that at the *Forked Cape*, 12 or 15 leagues thence, there is more cod than in any other place of *Acadia**. But it does not follow from thence, that *Acadia* begins there, or extends no farther northward ; much less does it prove that he speaks of any such province as is mentioned in this pretended quadrupartite division, for either *Long Island* or the *Forked Cape*, lie many leagues to the north of *Cape Sable*, where *Acadia*, according to the said division begins. Neither does this imperfect account of *Denys* agree better with the bounds assigned by *Charlevoix* to *Acadia*, in the tripartite division recited hereafter : for they were to begin at *Port Royal* ; whereas the *Forked Cape* lies many leagues short, or to the west of that place. Nor does *Denys* mention where *Acadia* ends, much less does he say it terminated at *Camceaux*. But supposing he had spoken of *Acadia*, under any such contracted bounds as are found in either of the aforesaid divisions, it could only have proved, that there was in his time another country of *Acadia*, an *Acadia-proper*, or province so called : since, in the patent granted as aforesaid to *Razilly*, a cotemporary governor with him in *Acadia* at large ; and yet more expressly in that of the sedentary or settled fishery granted to himself *January 30, 1654* ; the river *St. Lawrence* is declared to be the northern boundary of *Acadia*, and *Kinibek* river the western.

* See *Denys* Descr. Geogr. & Hist. des Côtes de l'Amérique septentr. p. 56. & 61.

Denys is so far from saying, in his description of the coasts, that the name of *Acadia* was limited to any part of the peninsula, or that it was a part of *Canada*, taken in a proper sense*; that in his dedication to the King, he not only considers them as two distinct provinces into which *New France* was divided, as *Champlain* before him seems to have done; but also, under the name of *Acadia*, clearly comprizes, conformable to the said grants, all the main-land to the south of *St. Lawrence* river, and east of *New England*, which he bounds with the river *Pentagoet* or *Penobscot*. For, after telling *Lewis* XIV. "it was owing to his, (the King's) care, "that *Canada* began to breathe again, and that " *Acadia* was no longer in the hands of their "neighbours," he adds, "that the country "which he describes, made the *principal* and "most *useful* part of *New France*." These last words are quite unsuitable to a piece of coast. Besides, as the country which *Denys* describes comprizes the north-main, as well as the peninsula, and both had been in the hands of the *English* but a little before, till ceded by the treaty of *Breda*, in 1667, it follows, that he comprizes both parts under the name of *Acadia*; and consequently, that he considered *Acadia* as the general name of the whole country, even supposing it had been given specially to one of the three provinces. If he had done otherwise he would have acted inconsistently, and in contradiction to the king's grants, by which he held his government; and which it was no more in his power to alter, than it was his interest to alter it, if he could.

* That is, taken as a part of *New France*; not as synonymous with the whole, as some authors take it.

With

With regard to the quadrupartite division which *Charlevoix* so formally and so falsely fathers upon *Denys*, we shall only observe farther, that this author's book does not afford the least room for such a partition; on the contrary, if our jesuit had grounded it on the other's manner of dividing the coasts, or his description thereof, into parts, he ought to have made six or eight provinces, instead of four.

It must be confessed that this dishonest jesuit, thorough-paced in the arts of deceiving, has stuck at nothing, on this occasion, to serve his cause: but with all his cunning he could not see, that in employing so much chicanry and fraud, to do injustice to us, he has been only labouring to undermine himself, and overthrow the very point which he intended to establish; as what he alledges from authors differing among themselves, concerning the bounds of *Acadia*, serves only to prove that originally it had no determinate bounds; and consequently that none of those which he trumps up, in case they really were to be found in the books which he refers to, could be considered as its ancient limits. He was likewise blind to another point of importance, namely, that the whole country to the south of *Canada* river, called by the *English* *Nova Scotia*, and a great deal more, went under the name of *Acadia*, at the very same time in which he was reducing its bounds to a bare coast: for, all that country was, in 1633, granted to *Razilly*, under the name of *Acadia*, by *Lewis* XIII. and the divisions he mentions, according to his own account, were not made till after the arrival of *Denys*, who had a share in them, which was not before

the year 1635, as will be shewn presently : from whence it appears, that this jesuit's penetration and honesty were much of a size. In reality, there is in all, which this author has written on the subject, so great a mixture of ignorance and dissingenuity, that it is sometimes difficult to tell to which of them his errors are to be ascribed.

Sir *William Alexander* obtained a second grant for *Nova Scotia*, under the same limits, from King *Charles I.* dated 12 July 1625 : but neglecting to settle effectually, the *French* continued to trade as before, and spread themselves in several parts of the country, till 1627 ; when war breaking out, on account of the siege of *Robbelle*, Sir *David Kirk* was sent with a fleet, not only to clear *Nova Scotia* of the *French*, (which he did, except at *Cape Sable*, where *La Tour* was settled) but also to drive them out of *Canada*, or the country north of *St. Lawrence* river ; which noble project, of his own forming, he effectually executed the next year, by the reduction of *Quebek*. After this, he gave up to Sir *William* the possession of *Nova Scotia*, or all the country south of the river *Canada*, in its full extent ; and kept all *Canada*, or the country to the north of that river to himself, appointing Sir *Lewis Kirk* governor of *Quebek*, where he resided for a time. This may be called the *English* second right by conquest to *Nova Scotia*. But soon after a peace taking place, both *Kirk* and his grand atchievement, were sacrificed to the *French* : for both countries were ingloriously given up again, without any apparent reason, or proper satisfaction ; and what is still more shameful, all the lands to the west of *Nova*

Scotia, as far as the river *Penobscot* : as hath been already shewn from the letters of Count *D'Estrades* ; altho' *Canada* only was insisted on, according to *Charlevoix* ; who seems to wonder at the easiness with which *Acadia* was yielded by the *English* *, as if they wanted to get-rid of it.

Sir *William Alexander*, foreseeing what would happen, in 1630 sold his right and title in all *Nova Scotia*, excepting *Port Royal*, to *Claude de la Tour* (who by his permission had settled at *St. John's*) to be held by him of the crown of *Scotland*. Two years after, the 17th of *March* 1632, a treaty was signed at *St. Germain en Laye*, between *Lewis XIII.* King of *France*, and *Charles I.* King of *Great Britain*, for "yielding up all the places possessed by the subjects of *England* in *New France*, *Acadia* and *Canada* ;" of which places only *Port Royal*, *Fort Quebec* and *Cape Briton* are mentioned ; nor does it appear by the grant that there were any more to be delivered up. By this treaty it seems manifest that *Nova Scotia* was comprehended under the name of *Acadia*, for *New France* was the general name under which *Canada*, *Acadia*, and all their other possessions in *America* then went, as they do at present. But if there could be any doubt on that head, it would be removed by the passages above cited from *Champlain*, and Count *D'Estrades* ; which make it evident that *Acadia* was at that time bounded by the river *St. Lawrence*, on the north, and *Penobscot*, on the west.

* Hist. Gen. de la *Nouv. Fran.* vol. i. p. 176.

In the opinion of *Lewis XIII.* *Acadia* had yet much larger bounds ; at least he was resolved they should have such. That prince, not content with those which custom, before his time, had given to it, and which had been yielded to him by the treaty of *St. Germain*, pretended that they reached as far as the borders of *New England* ; and presuming on the easiness with which so much had been given up to him almost unasked, took upon him to extend them so far. Accordingly, in the patent and commission by which he presently after confirmed the purchase of *Acadia* to *La Tour*, the boundaries are expressly mentioned, and fixed “ to begin at *Cape Gaspe*, or the mouth of the “ river *St. Lawrence*, and to extend west as far “ as *Cape Malabar* ;” now *Cape Cod*, in *New England* : so that not only all *Nova Scotia* was included in the patent, but *Lewis* had extended his grant over one third more of the *English* dominions than by the treaty was given up. According to Count *D’Estrades* (who was ambassador in *England*, after the restoration) Mr. *De Razilly* was sent to take possession of all *Acadia*, in consequence of the treaty of *St. Germain*, and appointed lieutenant-general of the province* ; probably because *La Tour* was a protestant. This, according to *Charlevoix*, was in the year 1633, when, to use his words, “ *Acadia* was granted to the commander *De Razilly*, one of the principal members of the “ company of *New France* ; on condition that “ he should make a settlement, which he did,

* See his letter au Roi, 13 Mars, 1662.

“ at the *Port of La Have*; but it was of no
“ great importance*.”

As those mentioned by *Champlain* are the most ancient bounds of *Acadia*, settled by custom; so these prescribed by *Lewis XIII.* are the most ancient established by regal authority. If we consider them comparatively, in respect to time, the former will be the *most ancient*, and the latter the *ancient* bounds of *Acadia*: but this will not serve *Charlevoix*; he will, for the ancient bounds of *Acadia*, have a *more ancient* bounds than the *ancient*, or those of *Lewis XIII.* which he seems to take no notice of, as if out of the question; and having suppressed those prior to them, mentioned by *Champlain*, would substitute, in the room thereof, other fictitious boundaries of his own, by extending those of *Canada* over all *Acadia*; under pretence that both provinces were originally included by the *Indians*, under that denomination: accordingly he affirms, without any proof but his usual effrontery, “ That from the earliest times the
“ savages gave the name of *Canada* to all the
“ country on both sides of the river of *Canada*,
“ or *St. Lawrence*, particularly from its mouth
“ to *Saguenay*†.”

Supposing this to be fact, and that we are to be determined in this point by the custom of the natives, *Acadia* could have no bounds at all; or rather such a country never did exist: but we shall shew, at the end of this memoir, that what he affirms on this occasion, is all false, like the rest; that *Canada*, when *Cartier* went thither in 1534, comprized no more than a small part of

* *Hist. Gen. de Nouv. Fran.* vol. i. p. 173. † *Hist.* p. 11.

“ at

the country to the north of the river *Hajbelaga*, as *St. Lawrence* was then called; and lay to the west of *Saguenay* river or province, not towards the east of it, or the mouth of *St. Lawrence* river, as he falsely asserts.

To proceed therefore: in 1635, the people of *New England* highly resented the little regard shewn to their interests by the King's giving up to *France* more than was insisted on; and were much more incensed at *Lewis's* usurping a great deal more than was granted him by the treaty. In 1635 the council of *Plymouth* agreed to surrender their grant of November 1621 (which gave them all the country from 40 to 48 degrees of latitude) on condition that the grantees should have particular grants. Sir *William Alexander*, being one, had his allotment from the river of *St. Croix*, the west boundary of *Nova Scotia*, to the river *Kinnebeck*, bounding *New England* to the east; and from thence to run north to the river of *Canada* or *St. Lawrence*: which country was to take the name of *Nova Scotia**; and by this means *Nova Scotia* came to be co-extended with *Acadia*, as bounded by *Lewis XIII.* in his grant to *Razilly*, two years before. Soon after this, the tripartite division of *Acadia*, before mentioned, must have taken place, according to *Charlevoix's* account, whose words are these, "All which the *English* had taken in *Acadia*, and on the neighbouring coast, during the war of *Rochelle*, and before, having been restored in 1632; all that part

* This part of *Nova Scotia* being granted in 1663 by King *Charles II.* to his brother the Duke of *York*, it took the name of the Duke of *York's* land: and on his ascending the throne, the King's land. It has since been annexed to the province of *Massachusetts* bay; and is by some called the province of *Sagadahok*.

“ of *New France* was divided into three provinces, the government and property of which were granted to the commander *De Razilly*, young *La Tour* and Mr. *Denys*. The first had for his share *Port Royal*, and all to the south, as far as *New England*; the second had *Acadia* properly called, from *Port Royal* to *Camceaux*; and the third had the eastern coast of *Canada* from *Camceaux* to *Gaspé* *.” This transaction is related by our jesuit in a very imperfect, confused and fallacious manner, conformable to his imposing scheme. Those words *the eastern coast of Canada* are inserted, that it might not be thought the name of *Acadia* was given to the country south of *St. Lawrence* river; altho’ it was the province of *Acadia* which was then so divided.

It was doubtless with the same view, that we find, at the beginning of the paragraph, a distinction made between *Acadia* and the *North-Main*, under the denomination of the *Northern Coast*. In which he would insinuate two falsties. 1. That neither in the grant which was made to *Razilly* singly of *Acadia*, nor in that which was made to him and his partners, (if they were different grants) was any part of the *North-Main*, comprehended under that name. 2. That so much of the *North-Main* as fell within his government, was only the coast, as far as *New England*.

If in either of those places that author had mentioned the time of that grant, or the bounds of the province assigned to each of the three governors, as he ought to have done, it would have been easy to decide the question; but he

* Charlev. ubi supr. p. 410.

hath taken all the pains imaginable to perplex the case, and keep his readers from coming at the truth, by jumbling things together. However not so entirely obscuring them, but that we may be able to bring light out of darkness, and refute him out of his own mouth; for elsewhere, speaking of the chev. *de Grand Fontaine*, three years after, he says, "The bounds of his government extended from *Quinsebeque* to the river *St. Lawrence*, conformable to the possession taken in 1630, [it should be 1633.] in the name of *Lewis XIII.* by the commander *De Razilly* *." From whence it is plain, after all his shuffling and cutting, that *Acadia*, which he says was granted to *Razilly*, comprized not only the south coast of the *North Main*, but also what he calls the eastern coast of *Canada*; and, in short, all the country in question to the south of the river *St. Lawrence*.

I shall not stay to shew how inaccurately our author has described the provinces or shares belonging to the three proprietors, especially the first and third; the last of whom, by his account, must have had much more of the country than the other two. What can one understand by his saying *Razilly* had *Port Royal*, and all to the south as far as *New England*? since the country which lies to the south of *Port Royal*, is the part of the peninsula which fell to *La Tour*, he ought to have said the lands to the north west on the continent; and to have assigned, after *Denys*, the river *Pentagoet* or *Penobscot*, rather than *New England*, for its western boundary. But perhaps he did not care to have it thought that

* Ibid. p. 417.

Lewis XIII. had granted to that commander more than the *Engliſh* had given up.

I have taken the pains to trace our jeſuit thro' his long windings and doublings, not ſo much to prove the point in queſtion, as to expoſe the ſcandalous arts uſed by this diſhoneſt hiſtorian (if one ſo ill qualified, and who ſeldom quotes his authors, ſcarce ever regularly, can be called an hiſtorian) for we are in poſſeſſion of the commiſſion granted to *Grand Fontaine*, which will be produced preſently.

After *Razilly's* death, *Charles de Manou, Chevalier Sieur Daulnay*, or *Daunay de Charneſey*, took poſſeſſion of his property, by an agreement made with the brothers of the deceased; and in 1647 obtained a grant for the government of *Acadia*: but this, ſays *Charlevoix*, “ muſt, in all likeli-
“ hood be underſtood only of that part of the
“ peninsula which more properly bore the name
“ of *Acadia*, as I have already often remark-
“ ed.” Here is another flagrant inſtance of this author's falſehood: for we are able to produce the original grant or commiſſion to *Daunay*, under the ſign manual of *Lewis* XIV. which confirms him governor and lieutenant-general in all the countries, territories, coaſts, and confines, of *La Cadia*, “ to begin from
“ the river *St. Lawrence*, including as well
“ the ſea-coaſt and the adjacent iſles, as the
“ inland parts, as far as the *Virgines*,” meaning *Virginia*; and in another part of the ſame commiſſion he is impowered to traffic with the *Indians*, “ throughout the whole extent of the
“ lands and coaſts of *Acadia*, from the river
“ *St. Lawrence* to the ſea, as far as the *Virgines*.”

In

In the preamble to the commission, the reasons specified for granting it are, his having expelled the foreign religionaries from *Pentagoet* fort, which they had seized; that he had taken *St. John's* fort from *Charles St. Etienne de la Tour*, who held it in rebellion, in favour of foreign religionaries; and had built four forts against them. However, *La Tour* finding that to be a protestant and a rebel was the same thing, made his peace; and changing his religion in 1651, was made governor of *Acadia*, in as ample a manner as *Charnesey* had been before, by the King of *France*, who in the same commission confirmed him his possession in that country.

From what has been said, I think it is clear to a demonstration, against *Charlevoix* and his followers, that the relations of the first discoverers are so far from confining *Acadia* to the peninsula, much less to a single coast of it, that *Champlain*, who was the chief and most eminent of them, on account of his having long resided, as well as been governor, in those parts, expressly declares that the river *St. Lawrence* was its northern boundary, and that of *Norembegua* or *Penobscot* the western: whence it follows.

1. That it not only included all *Nova Scotia*, but extended westward above 20 leagues farther.
2. That the first time the government of *Acadia* was granted, or its limits ascertained by royal authority, the river *St. Lawrence* was, according to *Champlain's* information, declared to be its northern boundary, and the river *Kinibek* its western: consequently it comprised, according to the ideas of the *French*, all the country south of *St. Lawrence* river, lying between the
the

the gulf of that name and *New England*. 3. That as the settling of those bounds by *Lewis XIII.* was antecedent to both the divisions mentioned by *Charlevoix*, which confine *Acadia* to part of the peninsula, consequently the country or countries which since that time have been alledged by the *French* writers as the whole of *Acadia*, ought only to be considered as a part or parts thereof bearing the same name.

We shall next shew how careful *Lewis XIV.* and his ministers were, to assert and preserve those limits, on all occasions of dispute or treaty between the two nations, from thence down to the treaty of *Utrecht*, when he was obliged to give up *Acadia* to the *English*.

In 1654, *Cromwell*, disapproving of the alienation of *Nova Scotia*, and moved by the injustice done the victorious *Kirks*, who in vain applied to the court of *France* for the sums which were agreed by treaty to be paid them, sent Major-General *Sedgwick*, who with the assistance of *New England*, recovered almost all that country to the *English* dominion; dislodging the *French*, who were settled in and about *Port Royal*, *St. Jean* and *Pentagoet*. The *French* ministers at *Paris* made pressing solicitations for the restitution of this country: but he would not suffer his ambassador to give the least ear to such instances, insisting that it was the *ancient inheritance of the crown of England* (which word *Ancient* refers, perhaps, beyond King *James I.*'s grant to the time of *Cabot*'s discovery). This he thought so undeniably clear, that, by the 25th article of the treaty concluded with *Lewis XIV.* in *November 1655*, he made no difficulty

difficulty to submit the right of the *English* crown to the three forts abovementioned to the decision of three commissioners, who were to meet in *London*, and determine it in six months, provided the *French* should think fit to proceed in that affair ; but they never did.

However, *Cromwell* afterwards granted to Mr. *St. Etienne de la Tour*, in consideration of his father *Claude*'s purchase, Colonel *Temple* and *William Crown*, for ever, “ The country and territories called *Acadia*, and that part of the country called *Nova Scotia*, from *Marlegash*, on the east, to the port and cape of *Heve*, leading along the coast to *Cape Sable* to a certain point now called *La Tour*, heretofore named *Lomney* * ; thence following the coast and island to the cloven cape and river *Ingogen* ; following the coast to *Port Royal*, and then following the coast to the bottom of the bay ; and thence along the bays into *St. John's*, to *St. John's* fort ; and thence all along the coast to *Pentagoet* and the river *St. George*, unto *Muscongus*, situated on the confines of *New England*, on the west ; and extending from the sea-coast up in the land, along the limits and bounds aforesaid, one hundred leagues ; and further, unto the next plantation made by the *Dutch* or *French*, or by the *English* of *New England*. With all and singular the lands, territories, islands, rivers, seas, piscaries, woods, &c. jurisdiction of admiralty, &c. and also thirty leagues into

* Rather *Lomeron*, so called from a person of that name, who lived there before the time of *La Tour*. See *Denys's* Descr. Amer. Septent. Ch. 3. p. 61.

" the sea, all along the coast aforesaid." With sole right of trade, and many other advantages.

Cromwell seemed to have been of the same sentiments with King *Charles I.* that, by the treaty of *St. Germain* nothing but the places were given up : since by this grant he disposes of not only all the *Acadia* of *Lewis XIII.* but also great part of the country of *Canada* it self. In 1656 he, by warrant, made Colonel *Thomas Temple* governor of *St. John's*, *Port Royal* and *Pentagoet*, which are said to be in *Acadia*, commonly called *Nova Scotia* in *America*. And in 1662, Sir *Thomas* was again appointed governor of *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia*, by King *Charles II.* During this time the *French* were earnestly soliciting to have *Acadia* restored to them ; and the *English* as strenuously opposed it. The people, of *New England* particularly, sent over deputies with a petition to the king and parliament of *Great Britain* ; in which they alledged many strong arguments against the restitution of *Acadia* (this we are told by Count *D'Estrades*, in a letter to *Lewis XIV.* bearing date 27 February 1662) ; they were among other things disgusted at the *French*, who, under the name of *Acadia*, ceded by the treaty of *St. Germain*, had claimed not only *Nova Scotia*, but all the country between it and *New England*, as before hath been related : however, as all the country had been given up, according to *D'Estrades*, as far west as the river *Noremborg* or *Penobscot*, that minister demanded so much, in consequence of the treaty of *Breda*. Thus, in his letter but now mentioned, he tells them, " That " he had demanded of the commissioners restitution of all *Acadia*, containing 80 leagues of country :

" the

“ country; and that the forts of *Pentagoet*,
 “ *Port Royal* and *La Heve*, should be restored in
 “ the same condition as they were when taken.”
 In another to the king, *December 25, 1664*,
 where he reasons in favour of a league with
England, he says, “ By such a treaty you may
 “ get *Acadia* restored from *Pentagoet* to *Cape*
 “ *Breton*, containing 80 leagues * of coast.

The treaty of *Breda* was signed *July 21, 1667*; by the 10th article of which “ *Great Britain* is obliged to restore and give up to the
 “ King of *France* the country called *Acadia*, in
 “ *North America*, which the most christian
 “ king formerly enjoyed.” Pursuant to this
 treaty an instrument for restitution of *Acadia*
 was executed by *Charles II. February the 17th, 1667*, by which he surrenders, “ all that country
 “ called *Acadia*, in *North America*, which the
 “ *French* king did formerly enjoy, as namely,
 “ the forts of *Pentagoet*, *St. John's*, *Port Royal*,
 “ *La Heve*, and *Cape Sable*, which the *French* did
 “ enjoy till the *English* possessed themselves of
 “ them.” The forts were inserted at the request
 of *Mr. Rouvigny* the *French* commissary, as ap-
 pears from those words written in the margin
 opposite to the names.

In consequence of this instrument or obligation, an order was issued out *8 March 1668*, commanding *Sir Thomas Temple* to restore *Acadia* to the *French*. Under this order restitution was demanded by *Mr. Mourillon du Bourg*. *Sir Thomas*, seeing himself unjustly deprived of his right, by an alienation which *King Charles* had no

* He might have said double that number, or more.

power to make; and as by the treaty of *Breda* the country of *Acadia* simply was to be restored, without any mention of *Nova Scotia*, he takes advantage of the distinction which seems to be made between them in *Cromwell's* grant of 1655, and refuses to give up the forts of *Pentagoet*, *St. John*, *Port Royal*, and the rest; alledging that they did not belong to *Acadia*. On this occasion *Du Bourg*, in his letter says, "that Sir *Thomas* made *Nova Scotia* to extend "from *Marlegash* to *Pentagoet*; and *Acadia* "from *Marlegash* by *Cape Breton*, to the river "of *Quebek* or *St. Lawrence*".

On what ground that distinction in *Cromwell's* grant was made, does not appear: but Mr. *Colbert*, the *French* ambassador, insisted that *Acadia* included all *Nova Scotia*, as was evident from the grants of both the *Lewis's* to that time. Hereupon King *Charles* issued another order, under his sign manual, attested by Lord *Arlington*, which bears date *August* the 6th 1669, requiring Sir *Thomas*, without delay to deliver the said country of " *Acadia*, which formerly belonged to the *French* "king, namely the forts and habitations of *Pentagoet*, *St. John's*, *Port Royal*, *Le Heve*, and " *Cape Sable*, which the *French* enjoyed till dis- "possessed by the *English* in 1654 and 1655, "according to the 10th and 11th articles of the " *Breda* treaty."

Sir *Thomas* then complied; and, being sick, did, by his deputy-governor *William Walker*, deliver the said country to *Hubert Dandigny* chevalier de *Grand Fontaine* (who on the 22d of *July* the same year was commission'd under the great seal of *France*, to receive *Acadia*) as appears by the certificates acknowledging the delivery of
D the

power

the three forts of *Port Royal*, *Pentagoet* and *Gemfeck*; which last was upon *St. John's* river, many leagues within land. By the treaty of *Breda*, therefore, and the execution of it, it is clear that the *French* extended the bounds of *Acadia* over all *Nova Scotia*; that is, over both the countries which were successively granted to *Sir William Alexander*, under that name.

Charlevoix, who is obliged to take notice of this transaction, cannot help confessing so much: yet has the confidence, in contradiction to the very treaty, to deny that it ought to be so; and endeavours to support his falsity in his usual way, by alledging frivolous reasons, or concealing facts. He says, "That *Sir William Temple* "signed at *Boston* an instrument to the chevalier "de *Grand Fontaine*, which secured to *France* "all the country from *Pentagoet* to *Cape Breton* "inclusively*." He adds, that the whole had been comprised in the treaty of *Breda*, under the name of *Acadia*; and allows that the neighbouring coasts were sometimes comprehended (or, as he terms it, confounded) under that name: yet would pretend, *Pentagoet* did not belong to *Acadia*; for which he had no other authority but *Sir William's* saying so, as above; and which, tho' it might be of use to *Sir William*, because granted by him as part of *Nova Scotia* distinct from *Acadia*, as before observed, can be of no avail to the *French*: because they insisted that it did belong to *Acadia*, and had it surrendered as such, conformable to the treaty, which, as the same author confesses, included it under that name. The fourberie of this author is farther

* *Hist. de la Nouv. Fran.* Vol. i. p. 417.

seen in what he relates presently after, " That
 " the commission by which the *French* governor,
 " *Grand Fontaine*, took possession of that place
 " [*Pentagoet*] is dated *March* the 5th 1670,
 " and marks the bounds of his government from
 " the *Kinibeki* to the river *St. Lawrence*, confor-
 " mable to the possession taken thereof in 1630
 " [1633] by the commander *De Razilly*, for
 " *Lewis XIII* *."

Here *Charlevoix*, to prevent contradicting
 what he asserts just before, suppresses the name
 given to this country in *Grand Fontaine*'s commis-
 sion: but from the circumstance of *Razilly*
 it is plain it must have been *Acadia*; since it was
 granted to *Razilly* under that name, and also
 to *La Tour* his associate, as hath been before set
 forth.

In short, this author (who has falsified, misre-
 presented, and mistaken so many things in his
 relation, that it may be said to be a history of
 his own invention, rather than of real facts)
 pretends that *Acadia*, with the forts of *St. John*
 and *Pentagoet*, retaken by some *English* in 1674,
 having been surrendered to *France* a fourth time,
 not long after about the year 1680, " Mr. *Chem-*
 " *bly*, who was made commander after *Grand*
 " *Fontaine*, built a little town at *Port Royal*,
 " which from this time became the capital of
 " that government; which, over and above
 " *Acadia*, comprehended all the southern coast
 " of *New France* †." Here then, at last, we
 meet with the province or government to which
 he will have those *Forts* to belong: but then it

* Ibid.

† Ibid. 462.

a province without a name, since he will not allow it that of *Acadia*; tho', according to custom, he shews no reason why. But, to the authority of this bare *ipse dixit* we may oppose that of Mr. *William De L'Isle*, premier geographer to the King of *France*, who, in his maps of *North America* and *New France*, the first published in 1700, the latter in 1703, calls the country in question *Acadia*: whose bounds he extends over more than one third of the *North-Main*, included within the river *Kinibeki* and *St. John's*, by a line drawn at some distance to the north of this last river; and which being carried thro' the *Isthmus of Shignikto* along the coast, terminates opposite to the north entrance of the gut of *Canso*.

You see by what lame and absurd methods this errant story-teller endeavours to establish a falsehood, on his own bare assertion, in direct contradiction to treaties, numerous acts of his kings, and declarations of their ministers, as well as other good authority. But, supposing him ignorant of all these facts, and consequently unqualified for the history which he undertook to write; yet 'tis scarce possible he could have been unacquainted with the following passages of the baron *De La Hontan*, an author made use of in his history, who hath inserted a particular description of *Acadia*, as well as *Canada*, in his voyages to *North America*, from 1683 to 1694. This author, describing the bounds of *Acadia*, says, "the coast thereof extends from *Kinibek*, one of the frontiers of *New England*, to *L'isle Percée*, or the *Pierced Isle*, near the mouth of the river *St. Lawrence*.* He adds, that this sea-coast

* In his description of *Canada*, towards the beginning, he says this river is held to be the great boundary which sepa-

“ runs 300 leagues in length; and has upon
 “ it two great navigable bays, the bay *Fran-*
 “ *coise* and *Bay des Chaleurs* *.” The first is the
 bay of *Argal* or *Fundy*, the latter is in the bay of
St. Lawrence, near the mouth of the river of the
 same name. We see by this, that the *French*
 themselves, in *Canada*, considered *Acadia* in the
 same extent as they did in *Europe*; and conse-
 quently, that the forts of *Pentagoet* and *St. John*
 belonged to it. This is more particularly confirm-
 ed by what he says afterwards, “ That the three
 “ principal savagenations, the *Abenakis*, the *Mik-*
 “ *maks* and the *Kanibas*, dwell on the coast of *A-*
 “ *cadia* ;” On which coast those forts are situated.
 Observe also, that the words *Coast of Acadia*,
 are far from implying that *Acadia* is nothing
 but coast, as *Charlevoix* would pretend they
 are to be understood, in his quotation from *Cham-*
plain.

What *La Hontan* says is confirmed by *La*
Potherie; an author much esteemed by the *French*
 for his integrity, and particularly by *Charlevoix*,
 in his list of authors. In his history of *North*
America, wherever he speaks of the *Abenaguais*
 (or *Abenakis*) who possess all the country between
 the river *St. Lawrence* and the sea, to the east
 of *New England*, he almost always calls them
 the *Abenakis* of *La Cadia* † ; and speaking
 of the expedition of *Sir William Phipps* against
Canada, in 1690, says, “ That the last motions

rates the *French* colonies from the *English*. He likewise, in
 his map, gives a situation to *Acadia* answerable to what he
 does in his description.

* *La Hontan* New. voy. to *North Amer.* Vol. i. p. 220.

† *La Poth.* Hist. d'Amer. Septent. Vol. iii. p. 86, and
 throughout.

“ which the *Engliſh* made in *La Cadia* terminat-
 “ ed at the *Pierced Iſland*, which is at the en-
 “ trance of *St. Lawrence* river*.” He like-
 wiſe places *St. John’s*, where *Villebon* was go-
 vernor, in *L’Acadia*†. From theſe teſtimonies
 it appears, that not only the ſouth coaſt, but
 alſo the eaſt coaſt, in the bay of *St. Lawrence*,
 and in ſhort, the whole country from the mouth
 of the river of that name to the river *Kini-
 beki* bounding *New England*, belonged to *Acadia*;
 or went as low down as the year 1708, when *La
 Potherie* returned to *France*, under that deno-
 mination: ſo that for *Charlevoix* to deny a fact
 ſo well known and attested by the very authors
 whom he pretends to make uſe of in his hiſtory,
 is a proof either of his corrupt principles or
 great ignorance; and how little knowledge he
 acquired by his voyage to *Canada*. This re-
 mark is confirmed by the great imperfections,
 as well as errors, which are found in his hiſtory
 of that country.

After the ſurrender of *Pentagoet*, which had
 been ſurprized and taken by a ſingle adventurer;
 the *Engliſh*, to ſecure the country to the weſt-
 ward, built a good fort at *Pemaquid*, a peninſula
 lying about midway between the river *Penta-
 goet* and that of *Kinibeki*: from whence, watch-
 ing their opportunity, on Mr. *Chambly’s* remove
 from *Pentagoet*, in 1680, they took that fort,
 with thoſe of *St. John’s* and *Port Royal*, then
 governed by *La Valliere*; “ And thus, ſays
 “ *Charlevoix*, became the fifth time maſters of
 “ *Acadia*, and all the country which lies be-
 “ tween it and *New England* ||.” This conceſ-

* P. 90.
 Vol. i. p. 463.

† P. 188.

|| Hiſt. *Nouv. Fran.*

sion of *Charlevoix* removes an objection which hath been started by some, that altho' the *English* took those places, it does not follow that they subdued or were in possession of the country. But we think that effect does follow; for we know no other way of subduing a country, and becoming possessed of it, but by taking the forts and settlements, as the gallant, but ill requited *Kirk* did, when he subdued *Canada* in 1629.

In 1685, a dispute arising about the fishery, the *French* ambassador in his memorial says, "that the coast of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia* extended from *L'Isle Percée* [near *Cape Rosiers*] "to *St. George's* island [or river] and was possessed by the *French*, till taken in 1664, [meaning "1654] and restored again in 1667."

In 1686, King *James II.* signed a neutrality with *Lewis XIV.* for all *North America*, by which those forts were again given up to the *French*: but the *English*, not able to digest the incroachments of those restless and artful neighbours, in extending their bounds westward beyond *Nova Scotia*, under pretence of its being part of *Acadia* (by which name only it was given up by the two preceding treaties of *St. Germain* and *Breda*) therefore in 1687, the governor of *New England* dispossessed the baron *St. Castin*, who had repaired the fort of *Pentagoet* (which the *Dutch* some years before had demolished) alleging that all the country, as far as the river of *St. Croix*, belonged to his government *. On this occasion, the same year, *Messieurs Barillon* and *Bonrepas* ambassador and envoy extraordinary, appointed commissioners to settle the neutrality a-

* *Ibid*, p. 520.

greed on in 1686, with regard to *American* limits, complained in a memorial against the *English*,
 “ for seizing the ships and goods of *Castin* at
 “ *Pentagoet*, situated in the province of *Acadia*;
 “ and expressly declared that *Acadia* belonged
 “ to their king; and that, by the treaty of *Breda*,
 “ Art. 10. and 11. it was delivered as such
 “ by Sir *Thomas Temple* to *Le Grand Fontaine*,
 “ and by name the fort and habitation of *Pen-*
 “ *tagoet* ;” reciting that transaction at large, as
 before set forth.

The *French*, unable of themselves to preserve the coast from *Pentagoet* to *Kinibeki*, stirred up the *Abnaqui* Indians, who surprised not only *Pemaquid* fort, but several other little ones, which the *English* had on the *Kinibeki*. This conduct so enraged the colony of *Boston*, that governor *Phipps* resolved to make an absolute conquest of the whole province of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, which he effected in 1690; but in 1691, it was retaken by *Villabon*. However, the *English* this year recovered *Pemaquid*, which *Villabon* in vain attempted the next. In 1696 it was surrendered, by governor *Cheb*, to the *French* joined by the same *Indians*.

In 1697, the peace of *Ryswick* was concluded: in consequence of which *Nova Scotia* was given up, tho’ not expressly named in it; the *French*, in all the surrenders made to them, contriving to have the name only of *Acadia* employed, as well to avoid acknowledging that used by the *English*, as because the suppression of it might better serve their views. Accordingly the *French* ambassador at *London* insisted (as *Colbert* had done after the treaty of *Breda*) “ That its ancient
 “ bounds

“ bounds were from *Cape Rossiers*, nigh *Gaspie*,
 “ to the river *Kinibek* :” And Mr. *Villabon*,
French governor of *Acadia*, in a letter to gover-
 nor *Stoughton*, dated the 5th of *September*, 1698,
 complaining of the incroachment of *New Eng-*
land, says, “ I am likewise expressly ordered,
 “ on the part of his Majesty, to maintain the
 “ bounds which are between *New England* and
 “ us, which are from the head of the river *Kini-*
beki to its mouth, leaving the stream free to
 “ both nations.”

But altho' the *French* did not get all which
 they demanded by this treaty, yet they gained
 somewhat more than they had by that of *Breda*;
 for the limits of *Acadia* were fixed at the river
St. George, about half a degree more west than
Pentagoet, and within 12 miles of *Pemaquid*.

Observe, in what a sliding manner *Charlevoix*
 relates this transaction : “ Altho',” says he, “ the
 “ bounds of *New France*, on this southern coast
 “ [he won't call it either *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia*]
 “ had been fixed [neither will he tell us when
 “ or how] at the river *Kinibeki*; and that they
 “ had lately driven the *English* out of *Pemquit*
 “ [*Pemaquid*] which ought to have belonged
 “ to them by virtue of the treaty, yet, as the
 “ *English* had returned thither again, Messieurs
 “ *De Tallard* and *D'Herbaut*, the king's com-
 “ missioners, were obliged to remove their fron-
 “ tiers backward, and fix them at the river
 “ *St. George*, situated almost midway between
 “ *Kinibeki* and *Pentagoet*. This was settled in
 “ 1700, by Mr. *De Villneu*, on the part of the
 “ most *Christian King*; and by Mr. *Soudrie*, on
 “ the part of his *Britannic Majesty* *.”

* Tom. 2. p. 236.

What this author would unjustly conceal, viz. that the country so bounded by *St. George's* river, and which he denominates the south coast of *New France*, was *Acadia*, appears from the alternatives "proposed, April the 9th, 1700, to secretary *Vernon*, relating to *American* limits. The first article has these words: "In this case "the limits of *France*, on this side of *Acadia*, "should be restrained to the river *St. George*."

During Queen *Anne's* war with *France*, several attempts were made to recover *Nova Scotia*; but at length, in 1710, general *Nicholson* was sent, who reduced *Port Royal*, and brought *Nova Scotia* once more under the obedience of *England*. On examining the commission of *Subercasse*, the governor from *Lewis XIV.* it was found to be addressed thus, "To *Daniel Auger de Subercasse*, Knight of *St. Lewis*, governor of " *Acadia*, of *Cape Breton*, the islands and lands "adjacent, from *Cape Rosier* of the great river " *St. Lawrence*, as far as the east parts of *Quinibec*." And, in an obligation for safe conduct to the *English*, who were to convoy him to *France*, he styles himself governor of *Acadia*, &c. in the same terms with his commissions. From hence we see that, notwithstanding the formal agreement in 1700, which fixed the bounds of *Acadia* at the river *St. Croix*, the *French*, in their commissions given to the governors of *Acadia*, still kept up their claim to the ancient bounds assigned it by *Lewis XIII.* after the treaty of *St. Germain*: As if they made such agreement only to serve a present turn, without any design of keeping it longer than they thought it for their conveniency

not

not to break it; and their conduct since has verified this remark.

Not long after this, negotiations for peace were set on foot; and on *June* the 10th, 1712, *Lewis XIV.* proposed to give up "*Placentia Fort*, ail *Newfoundland* and its fishery, the "*isles of St. Martin and Bartholomew*, if "*Queen Anne* would consent to restore *Acadia*, "*of which the river St. George* should thereafter "*be the bounds.*" But *Queen Anne*, rejecting that offer, insisted that all *Nova Scotia* should be given up, and its name inserted in the treaty, as well as that of *Acadia*; likewise that *Port Royal*, lately taken, should be expressly mentioned: which things were accordingly done in the 12th article of that treaty, in the following terms *. "*Art. 12. The most Christian King* "*shall take care to have delivered to the Queen*

* Dominus Rex Christianissimus, eodem quo pacis presentis rati habitationes commutabuntur die dominæ reginæ Magnæ Britanniae literas tabulasve, solennes et authenticas tradendas curabit; quarum vigore insulam St. Christophori per subditos Britannicos, sigillatim de hinc possidendam, Novam Scotiam quoque sive Acadiam totam, *limitibus suis antiquis comprehensum*, ut et portus regii urbem, nunc Annapolin Regiam dictam, cæterasque omnia in istis regionibus quæ ab eisdem terris et insulis pendent, unacum earundem insularum terrarum et locorum dominio, proprietate, possessione et quocunque jure, sive per pacta, sive alio modo quæsita, quod Rex Christianissimus Coronæ Galliae aut ejusdem subditi quicunque ad dictas insulas, terras et loca eorumque incolas hæcenus habuerunt, Reginæ Magnæ Britanniae ejusdemque coronæ in perpetuum cedi constabit et transferri, prout eadem omnia nunc cedit ac transfert Rex Christianissimus, idque tam amplis modo et forma, ut Regis Christianissimi subditis in dictis maribus sinibus, aliisque locis ad littora Novæ Scotiæ, ea nempe quæ eorum respiciunt, intra triginta leucas incipiendo ab insula vulgo Sable dicta, eaque inclusa et Africum versus pergendo, omnis piscatura interdicatur.

" of

“ of *Great Britain* on the same day that the rati-
 “ fication of this treaty shall be exchanged,
 “ solemn and authentic letters or instruments,
 “ by virtue whereof it shall appear, that the
 “ island of *St. Christophers* is to be possessed
 “ alone hereafter by *British Subjects*; likewise
 “ all *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, with its ancient
 “ boundaries; as also the city of *Port Royal*,
 “ now called *Annapolis Royal*, and all other things
 “ in those parts, which depend on the said lands
 “ and islands; together with the dominion, pro-
 “ perty and possession of the said islands, lands
 “ and places: and all right whatsoever by treaties,
 “ or by any other way obtain’d, which the most
 “ Christian King, the crown of France, or any
 “ the subjects thereof have hitherto had to the
 “ said islands, lands and places, and the inha-
 “ bitants of the same, are yielded and made
 “ over to the Queen of *Great Britain*, and to
 “ her crown for ever, as the most Christian King
 “ doth at present yield and make over all the
 “ particulars above-said; and that, in such
 “ ample manner and form, that the subjects of
 “ the Most Christian King shall hereafter be ex-
 “ cluded from all kind of fishing in the said
 “ seas, bays, and other places on the coasts of
 “ *Nova Scotia*; that is to say, on those which
 “ lie towards the east, within 30 leagues, be-
 “ ginning from the island commonly called
 “ *Sable*, and thence stretching along towards
 “ the south-west.”

It was thought now, by a treaty so strongly
 worded, and in which the name of the country
 used by the *English*, as well as *French*, had been
 inserted, that all pretence for cavils or disputes
 would have been prevented: but in 1719, the
French

French began to raise objections about the bounds of *Nova Scotia*, and commissioners were appointed; but those on their side did not meet. The reasons why, are not mentioned: but we suppose it was, because they were ashamed to offer the objections communicated to them, if they were such barefaced falsehoods and ridiculous quibbles, as those mentioned by *Charlevoix* and his followers: for *France*, to be sure, has men of honour, as well as other countries. However that be, it may be presumed that Mr. *William De L'Isle*, the King of *France's* principal geographer, had instructions to curtail the limits assigned by the *English* to *Nova Scotia*; for in his map of *America*, published in 1723, he restrains the name of *Acadia* to a little less than the peninsula, which, in his maps of *North America* and *New France*, published in 1700 and 1703, as before mentioned, he had extended over more than one third part of the *North Main*.

This conduct is not to be wondered at in Mr. *De L'Isle*, who took all occasions to defraud the *English*, so far as he was able to defraud them, of their rights. In the two maps last cited he hath exhibited *Acadia* two thirds less than he ought to have done, according to the authority of *Champlain*, and the subsequent grants of his Kings, corroborated by treaties. But supposing this to have been owing more to want of carrying his researches deep enough, than to design, we have not room to think so favourably of him, with respect to his map of *Louisiana*, published in 1718. For he has there transferred all *Carolina* to his own nation, by inclosing it within the green line, as part of *Louisiana*, altho',

altho', in his map of *Mexico* in 1703, he places it among the *English* territories. To support this bold geographical depredation with a colour of justice, under the name of *Carolina* he writes "That it was so called in honour of "*Charles IX* by the *French*; who discovered, " took possession of it, and settled there, in 15 ."

By the defect in the date, Mr. *De L'Isle* seems on this occasion to have depended for the whole on his memory, which doubtless had deceived him. In *Laudonniere's* voyage we meet indeed with a fort built by him in 1564, at the mouth of the river *May*, which he named *La Caroline*; but not one word of giving that appellation to the country. Our neighbours are very dextrous at either expanding, or contracting; for, whenever they please, they can turn a single fort into a large country, and reduce a large country into a piece of coast. The author of the late six sheet map of *America*, has taken notice of his insincerity in suppressing the kingdom of *New Albion* on the west coast of *America*, and changing the name of *Bay Sir Francis Drake*, into that of *St. Francisco*. I say of his insincerity: for in his map of the countries situated to the north west, made in 1696 *, he inserts the country of *New Albion*, and gives to the port the name of *Francis Drake*.

The conduct of other *French* geographers, since the treaty of *Utrecht*, with respect to the country in question, is no less repugnant to the preceding authorities than that of Mr. *De L'Isle*. Mr. *Bellin*, in his map of *New France*, made in

* It makes the third of the particular maps published by his brother *Jos. Nicholas de L'Isle*, the astronomer, in 1752, on occasion of the discoveries to the north of the South Sea.

1744, for *Charlevoix's* history, gives to the peninsula the name of *Acadia*, and to the *North Main* that of *Nova Scotia*: whereas he ought to have given to the whole either one or both of the names, in order to make his map agree with the accounts of the earliest voyagers, and the regulations of treaties. Mr. *Bellin*, in his map of the same country which he published the year following, detached from *Charlevoix's* history, has omitted the name of *Nova Scotia*, and left the northern main without any name, or without supplying it, by extending that of *Acadia* over the whole.

Nor does Mr. *Danville* on this occasion appear to be less perplexed and at a loss than Mr. *Bellin*. In his map of *America*, published in 1746, he divides the country south of *St. Lawrence* river, by a pricked line carried north from the west bounds of *New England*, to 46 degrees of latitude, from whence it runs near east by north, through the country to the gulf of *St. Lawrence*, where it terminates about 10 miles to the north of the isthmus of *Shéganikto*, and *Green Bay*. The country to the north of this line, which contains above two thirds of the whole, he allots to *France*, by colouring it green: but gives it no particular name, only by intruding into it the last letter of the name of *Canada*, he would possibly consider it as part of that country; which yet originally was, he knows, confined to the north side of the river *St. Lawrence*, and only one of three provinces into which that country was divided. He does the same by the country south of it, assigning to it the name neither of *Nova Scotia* nor *Acadia*; which last he confines solely to the peninsula,

peninsula, but ascribes both to the *English* dominions, by colouring them red.

This representation of the country in question, is so very inconsistent with the authorities above mentioned, that one would almost imagine Mr. *D'Anville* had trusted to *Charlevoix's* report of things, instead of having had recourse to the original authors. This is the more probable as he has not given the name either of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, to the north-main or any part of it; and by this means the portion which he allows to the *English*, becomes the nameless province to be found in *Charlevoix*, as hath been before observed.

Our remark seems to be farther confirmed by the alterations, still more inconsistent with those authorities, which he hath since made, in the late impressions of the same map; having twice contracted, instead of enlarging, the bounds of the *English* possessions in *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*. The first time he restrained them to the peninsula, by drawing the red line through the isthmus of *Shegnikto*: by the second castration he reduces the *English* pretensions to little more than one half of the peninsula; by drawing the partition line from *Shedabuktu* or *Milford*, through the country southward of *Minas* bay, to the north west coast. But, as these alterations are marked by pricked lines, and the first pricked line is not erased, who knows but they are mistakes in the colouring? or if not, that on the better information, Mr. *D'Anville* may restore to *English*, by a third stroke of the pencil, so much as he has deprived them of by the two first, if not to all *Nova Scotia*, or the country south
of

of *St. Lawrence* river ; as from his known character of integrity I am persuaded he would have done, had he met with the passage of *Champlain* so often mentioned.

As he has not done it, I take it for granted, that it did not occur to him : nor can I otherwise account either for the bounds assigned by him in the first impression of his map, or for the alterations made in the second and third. For if he was acquainted with the limits given to *Acadia* by *Champlain*, or claimed by *France* in all her treaties with *England*, in consequence of the treaty of *St. Germain*, I cannot conceive how he could have ascribed to *Acadia* no greater extent of country in the first impressions of his map ; and if he had judged the objections started against the treaty of *Utrecht* to have been of any weight, I am as much at a loss to conceive how he came to give it so much. On the other hand, if he was not sensible of their weight when he first published his map, I should be glad to know upon what grounds he came to be better satisfied since ; and how it happened that he was not made sensible of his mistakes all at once, but was obliged to alter his map twice upon the occasion.

These considerations induce me to believe that it was for want of sufficient information ; for whether he made use of *Denys*, or depended on *Charlevoix*, he could not find his doubts resolved by either : for the first, as hath been observed, did not meddle with the bounds or division of *Acadia* into provinces ; and the business of the latter was to puzzle and mislead, not to inform. In short, without consulting *Champlain*,

so as to discover the passage in view, he could not decide with certainty, touching the ancient limits, or rather the most ancient limits, of the country in question: for this reason I will not charge the alterations with respect to *Acadia*, made in the several editions of Mr. *D'Anville's* map, as done with a sinister view, to injure the *British* interest in that country, by diminishing its bounds; altho' persons whose enquiries go no farther than the maps, may be induced thereby, on the opinion which the world has justly entertained of his knowledge and abilities, to believe the late encroachments of his nation, in that part of *America*, at least, to be just.

'Tis true, that Mr. *D'Anville*, in answer to a charge of marking the bounds of some *British* dominions in *America* amiss, expresses a surprize "That any body should imagine a thing
" of this kind done by a geographer, could
" be either of prejudice or advantage to the
" rights of crowned heads*." I am surprized at it, no less than he; for it would be strange indeed, if the bounds of kingdoms, any more than the situations of places, were to depend on the arbitrary will of the geographers: that would be to have kingdoms at their disposal. But then, I see it has been the case; and at this instant the maps but just now mentioned are produced as arguments, to support the *French* allegations. 'Tis hoped however, that for the future, those things will not be offered as proof, which so eminent a geographer has declared to be no proof; and has demonstrated to be none, by varying in a few years so often, and every time

* See Mr. *Danville's* letter, sur une copie de la carte de l'Amer. Septent: ap. Mem. Franc. Mars. 1751. p. 135.

so considerably, from himself. In effect, to alledge the authority of discording geographers, for ascertaining the bounds of *Acadia*, would be as ridiculous as to undertake to do the same from the triangular form of the peninsula, which I have been told some have actually done. Nor is it at all unlikely : since, after what has been remarked of *Charlevoix* and his followers, there is no extravagant demand or assertion ; no inconsistency or chicanry, within the compass of invention, which the *French* may not be capable of having recourse to, when they have any favourite point in view. But to proceed,

Other late geographers have gone farther still in this practice of curtailing the *British* territories. Mess. *Jos. Nicholas de L'Isle*, brother of *William*, and *Buache* the latter's son-in-law, who succeeded him in the post of premier geographer, in their *general map of the new discoveries to the north of the south sea*, published in 1752, seem to follow the tripartite division mentioned by *Charlevoix*, as before cited ; and Mr. *Robert*, in his late map of *Canada* 1753, the quadrupartite division, fathered by the same author on *Dennys*, or else that wild construction which he would so absurdly, as well as falsely, fix on the words of *Champlain* : for that geographer confines the name of *Acadia* to the south and west coast only of the peninsula ; with the addition however of *Port Royal*, to make it, as he thinks, conformable to the treaty of *Utrecht*. But why should he follow the opinion of two authors only (supposing it was their opinion, for we have shewn the contrary) when his guide informed him, but a little before, that *Acadia*, in the sentiments of all the geographers and historians

rians who have written with accuracy, includes the whole peninsula? must I, on this occasion, suppose that he rejects authority to obey orders? Or, must I apply to him the words of a certain author, which were thought to have wanted an application: "What discoveries might not be made, if people would copy less, and give themselves the trouble to draw from the fountain-head*?" Had Mr. *Robert* followed that rule, and consulted *Champlain* himself, he could never have erred so shamefully as he has done in this single instance.

But however considerable this depredation may seem, it is but a trifle compared with another, which Mr. *Robert* to signalize himself, we presume, for his address in geographical slight-of-hand, has committed in the same map; for by the title of it, he has made a seizure not only of that whole province, but of all the *British* territories in general. It runs thus, *A map of the countries known by the name of Canada; in which are distinguished the possessions of the French and English.* Mr. *R.* being an enterprising gentleman, was resolved to strike a bold stroke at once, and distance all the other *French* geographers to such a degree, that it should not be in the power of any of them to go beyond him. He was certainly in the right of it, when his hand was in, not to mince the matter: for the *French* may as well lay claim to the whole as a part. As to his ascribing the province of *Carolina* to *Canada*, which Mr. *William de L'Isle* ascribed to *Louisiana*, or the impropriety of extending the Name of *Canada* over all the *British*

* See Journal Œconomique, Sept. 1733, p. 88.
dominions

dominions in *America*, which in its original state was but a small province in the neighbourhood of *Quebek*, as will be shewn lower down; they are but trifling inconsistencies, which the *French* geographers think no impeachment of either their knowledge or integrity, any more than their contradicting one another so enormously about the bounds of *Acadia*. *Charlevoix* forged several kinds of erroneous bounds for them, without declaring for any of them himself; and they by adopting every one a different party, contradict or disagree with each other. On this occasion, I may observe, that, at the same time they seem to strive who shall deviate from the truth, and curtail the *English* pretensions most, they, by their wide disagreement shew how much at a loss they are what to fix on, and how little grounds they have for what they do.

Their disagreement, which in reality at once discredits and overthrows their system, is a sufficient refutation of what they would advance; as well as a sufficient answer to those who would build their demands on such feeble and precarious authority. However that be, there is no doubt but Mr. *Buache* (who is so fond of every production of his own brain, that he will not part with one of them, however monstrous or deformed, when once his imagination has brought it forth; and has actually fallen out with his brother *de L'Isle* for correcting some of his errors) will, with due acrimony, resent this impeachment, of his father-in-law's integrity or skill, by Mr. *Robert*, (with whom also he is at variance on the same occasion as with his brother,) and oblige him to restore *Carolina* to *Louisiana*. In this, perhaps, he may have

more to say for himself than he has said, in his disingenuous and ridiculous defence of the blundering situation which he has given to the *Rio de los Reys**, and other places, in his map of *the new discoveries to the north of the South-sea*.

But it is time to return from whence we digressed :

Must it not seem surprizing to every body, that notwithstanding by several treaties we gave up *Nova Scotia* to the *French*, when only *Acadia* was mentioned ; yet now they refuse to give back the same country, tho' it was ceded under both names by the treaty of *Utrecht* ? But the pretence for such strange reductions is still more surprizing, as it is taken from that very treaty which was made on purpose to prevent any such pretences ; and from words which absolutely destroy them. The words, according to the original *Latin*, are, "*Novam Scotiam* five "*Acadiam totam, limitibus suis comprehensam,* "*ut-et Annapolim ;* that is, All *Nova Scotia* or "*Acadia* with its ancient limits, and also *Port-Royal*." In these words, it seems, they have found out two sorts of arguments, properly called *Quibbles*, by which they pretend to prove, That *England* is by the treaty intitled to no more than a part of the peninsula of *Nova Scotia*, or the whole at most.

* For he places the mouth of that river in the latitude of 63 degrees, instead of 53, contrary both to the journal ascribed to *De Fonte*, and the express design of the voyage ; which last objection, found in the *Remarks* before mentioned, he for that reason never takes notice of.

The first is extorted from the words, *All Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with its antient boundaries.*

The second from the words, *And also Annapolis Royal.*

With regard to the first argument. they pretend, that "the words *Ancient limits* refer solely to *Acadia*, whose bounds originally being very small, those words were inserted by *France* to limit *Nova Scotia*."

Now this allegation is made up of several falshoods.

First, in affirming that the words *ancient limits* were inserted by *France*; whereas they were inserted at the instance of Mr. Secretary *St. John* (afterwards Lord *Bolingbroke*) to Mr. *de Torcy*. Whence it follows that they could not be inserted to limit *Nova Scotia*; for the *English* ministers did not want to lessen the *British* pretensions: nor would *France* have suffered the name of *Nova Scotia* only, to be inserted afterwards, in the part which relates to the fishery, if they had inserted the word *Acadia* here with any such design.

The second falshood is in affirming that the *ancient* (by which are meant the original) limits of *Acadia*, were very small; since, according to *Champlain* himself, the father and founder of the settlements in *Canada*, as the *French* call him, they exceeded those of *Nova Scotia* in their first establishment by King *James I.* in 1621. And since that author, the first who hath mentioned the limits of *Acadia*, hath declared the river *St. Laurence* to be the boundary of that country, this river must be considered as its

ancient, or rather *most ancient* limit, whether it had any other before his time or not.

And here it must be observed, that the possession of this testimony of *Champlain* is of great importance in the question; as it will be a perpetual bar against the *French* claims, and a decisive answer to all objections which may be grounded, on the words *antient limits*, or any other found in the treaty relative thereto: for what are a thousand inferential arguments against one positive voucher? Such arguments indeed, when the case will admit of no other, may be considered as fair reasoning; but must be looked on as mere chicanery and quibble, when set to oppose absolute proofs.

As therefore a clear testimony or fact like this, is not to be disputed, and is more easily understood than a course of arguments, we might spare ourselves the trouble of dwelling any longer on this topic: but being desirous thoroughly to expose the injustice and fallacy of the objection, we shall undertake to shew, from the obvious meaning of the words themselves,

1. That the words *antient limits* do not refer solely to *Acadia*.
2. That in case they did, yet they would not limit or reduce those of *Nova Scotia*.
3. That supposing they did limit or reduce *Nova Scotia*, and the *ancient bounds* of *Acadia* were as scanty as the *French* pretend, yet the *English* pretensions would not be lessened thereby.

I. That

I. That the words *ancient limits* do not relate to *Acadia* only, or more to it than to *Nova Scotia*, is clear from the form of expression, and natural construction of the words.

For as the country of *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia*, however different or diversified by situation dimensions, or otherwise, before their union, become, by the words of the treaty, not only inseparably united, but also identified, or one and the same; Therefore nothing can be applied to either, as in their separate state, but what must relate to the whole in their united state.

In like manner, the names *Nova Scotia*, and *Acadia*, however different before in their signification, on account of the countries which they denominated, in virtue of the words of the treaty, become synonymous, or signify one and the same thing: So that whatever is applied to one is applied to the other, or equally affects both. And thus the words *ancient limits*, as well as the adjunct *all*, do not relate more to one than to the other.

In effect, the words have the same force as if they had stood thus, *All Nova Scotia, with its ancient limits, and all Acadia with its ancient limits*; as they must have stood, had the countries ceded been different in situation: But as they were supposed to have been co-extended before, or at least one included within the bounds of the other, therefore the present form of stile was used, which saves the repetition of the words in question.

It

I. That

It is for this reason, that we render the passage *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, with its ancient limits, rather than with their ancient limits; for the *Latin* will admit of this way as well as the other; and thus it must be rendered, if the countries be considered in their separate state, as the *French*, on this occasion, would have them.

II. It is evident then, that the words *ancient limits* do not relate to *Acadia* only; but in case they did, they could not *limit* or *reduce* *Nova Scotia*: It would only follow that *Acadia*, according to its *antient* bounds, was equivalent to *Nova Scotia*; for the whole of both countries being ceded, as before set forth, there could be no such reduction.

But in case *Acadia* had been less than *Nova Scotia*, that would make no alteration in the question: for the words *unite* or *incorporate* the two; they do not curtail either in order to make one country equal to the other, they operate not by reducing *Nova Scotia* to the diminutive size of *Acadia*, but by enlarging *Acadia* to the full extent of *Nova Scotia*. Where two countries of unequal bigness are united, will any body pretend to say, that by the union the larger is reduced to the dimensions of the smaller, unless such reduction had been expressly specified in the article? Let them produce an instance of such an absurdity, if they can.

The words taken separately also declare in the strongest manner, against any such meaning, with which they are wholly incompatible. On one hand, to apply the word *all* to either of the countries in question, under such scanty dimensions

sions as they are represented with by the *French*, looks more like jest than earnest. What mockery or nonsense is it to declare, that the *whole* of such extensive countries is yielded, when only a piece of sea-coast is yielded; not the hundredth part of the whole: A mighty *all*, truly! *Risum teneatis?* To say all *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, that is, only a part of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*; or else, all *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*; that is, all *Acadia*, and only a part of *Nova Scotia*, is a contradiction in terms; and yet one of these must be the meaning in the sense of the *French*, if they mean any thing. On the other hand, if no more be ceded than a bare coast, or the peninsula, how can all, or the whole of both, be said to be given up? — And if all, or the whole of both be given up, how can it be pretended that only a part is given up? It cannot be pretended, that *Acadia*, under such contracted bounds, is equal to *Nova Scotia*; or that, if only *Acadia* was yielded under those circumstances, all *Nova Scotia* was yielded.

The article being worded and suffered to pass in the present form, is a plain indication that the *French* ministers never *intended* to limit *Nova Scotia*, as is pretended. That *all* should be mentioned to be ceded by them, and only a small part *intended*, seems impossible. If they had *intended* to limit, or reduce one country to the other, they would have taken some other method, consistent with such a design, and not one so very repugnant to it. They would not have said, all *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, with its *antient limits*, shall be ceded; but, *so much only of Nova Scotia shall be ceded, as an-*
swers

swers to Acadia; not in the most AMPLE, but in the most CONTRACTED manner, according to its ancient limits, which bounds likewise would have been specified, nor would the expence of either words, or thought, have been much greater in one case than the other: but to suppose things were intended in a light so contrary to that in which they appear, is to say, that the French ministers thought one thing, and wrote another; that they did not understand Latin or Grammar; that they were asleep while the article was drawn up and signed; or else, what will seem altogether as incredible to the world, that the English had for once outwitted them.

This consideration, likewise, would be sufficient to overthrow the credit of the assertion, that the words *Acadia*, with its *ancient* limits, were inserted at the demand of *France*, if we had no other authority to prove the contrary, as before set forth. In short, the only way to reduce *Nova Scotia*, by the treaty, to the limits they aim at, is to make appear, that, according to its ancient bounds, it was no larger than *Acadia*, according to its ancient bounds; supposing them to be such as they pretend.

Charlevoix probably was aware of this; and to obviate the difficulty, took it in his head not only to suppress one passage of *Champlain*, which makes the original limits of *Acadia* equal at least to those of *Nova Scotia*, and corrupt another, in order to reduce *Acadia* to a bare coast, but also to affirm, that *Nova Scotia* originally was no more than that coast. But this, we presume, none will be found hardy enough, like

like the jesuit, to venture upon ; and, besides, the pretended *limiting* words are against such a modification, as they suppose *Nova Scotia* to have been greater than *Acadia*.

III. However, supposing, in the last place, that we should grant *Charlevoix*, and his followers, all they contend for, and allow that the *antient* bounds both of *Acadia* and *Nova Scotia* were no more than the south coast of the peninsula ; yet it would avail him nothing, on his own principles, as such bounds would be quite out of the question : For by *antient bounds* they all along understand *most antient bounds* ; therefore, to use his own way of reasoning on the same occasion, cited at the beginning of this memoir *,

“ These are the *most antient* limits ; whereas the
 “ dispute between the *English* and the *French*
 “ is about the *antient* bounds of *Acadia* or *Nova*
 “ *Scotia*.”

Now it must be considered, that since the time of those supposed scanty limits, *Acadia* has often changed its boundaries. In *Champlain*'s time they were the river *St. Lawrence*, and that of *Penobscot*. In 1632, *Lewis XIII.* extended them westward to the river *Kinibeki* : By the treaty of *Breda* in 1667, they were restrained to the river *Penobscot* ; and by the treaty of *Ryswick* in 1697, enlarged again to the river *St. George*. So that the *antient* bounds of *Acadia* must be one of the first three determinations, any of which will give to *England* all which she lays claim to.

Thus, by a blunder committed in the capital point, as well as in the rest, he renders abortive

tive his own iniquitous scheme; and loses all the advantages which he proposed by the many sacrifices which he had made of both his understanding and conscience, to bring it into the world.

We have now, I presume, refuted all the principal arguments raised by the *French* on these words of the treaty under consideration: but we must not quit this head, without letting our readers see, how strongly the *English* claim is supported and enforced by the rest of the article. That the treaty supposes no such scanty bounds to be ceded, as that author and his followers alledge, nor any thing less than the whole, both of *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia*, in the amplest manner, and with their most extensive limits, will appear from the extraordinary circumspection which is shewn in wording the article in general, more than is to be found in any preceding treaty on the same occasion. *England* was not barely content with the mention of *Acadia*, as in the treaty of *Breda*, but, besides the addition of the name of *Nova Scotia*, caused to be inserted every thing else which could be thought proper for conveying and securing to her subjects the whole, without omitting any thing which might give occasion to future cavils. For *France* is obliged to deliver up all other things in those parts which depend on the said lands and islands; together with the dominion, property, and possession of the said lands, islands, and places; and all right whatsoever, by treaties, or by any other way obtained, which the most Christian king, the crown of *France*, or any the subjects thereof, have hitherto had to the islands, lands, and places, or inhabitants of the

the same, which are yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain, and to her crown for ever.

Now let me ask any unprejudiced foreigner, even a *French man* himself, whether it can possibly be imagined, that so much care was taken in drawing up this article, so many different kinds of right as well as possession mentioned, and so many strong words employed the more firmly to convey them, only to secure to us a piece of coast, or at most the peninsula of *Acadia*, which is not above one fifth part of the whole? For it is clear, from the express words, that not only the whole of both countries is to be delivered up; but likewise all the lands, places, islands, of each country which at any time the *French* were ever in possession of, by virtue of treaties or otherwise. Now, as it is notorious from the articles of several treaties between *England* and *France*; from the grants of *Lewis XIII.* and *XIV.* as well as other authentic acts, as before mentioned in this memoir, that the *French* have at various periods, claimed and been in actual possession of all the country to the south of *St. Lawrence* river, from the gulf of the same name to the river *Penobscot*, or *St George's*, what manner of doubt can be made but that *England* is intitled to at least so much by the treaty of *Utrecht*?

That this is a true state of our claim, appears to be confirm'd from the following facts.
 " On *June* the 10th 1712, *Lewis XIV.* offered
 " to yield up *Newfoundland* and other islands
 " to *Queen Ann*, provided she would consent
 " to restore *Acadia*, of which the river *St. George*
 " should

“ should hereafter be the bounds,” as before mentioned : but the Queen being resolved that all the country between *New England* and the gulf of *St. Lawrence*, which she was then in possession of, should be formally yielded up and relinquished by *France*, rejected the offer : and is it likely that by the treaty of *Utrecht* she should give up yet more ? At the treaty of *Utrecht* all, and much more than what *Lewis XIV.* wanted us to restore, was in our hands ; and it appears from the transactions during the negotiation, that *France* esteemed *Great Britain* to have been in actual possession of the whole country of *Acadia*. By one of the preliminary articles of peace, signed in 1711, “ Each nation was to keep, what at the publication thereof in *North America* they were possessed of.” Is it not strange effrontery then, to pretend that no more was yielded up to *England* by the treaty of *Utrecht* than the peninsula, or part of it ? The *French* may as well say, and in effect it is saying, that instead of *France* yielding up all *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia* to us, we yield it up to them, by that treaty. In short, it appears from the transactions of this affair, that the whole of *Nova Scotia* was insisted on by the *English* ministers, without the least reduction ; and by the treaty it appears that the whole was given up : and yet the *French* pretend, that by the whole is only to be understood a part, contrary to the fact, and contrary to reason.

The second argument or cavil, alledged by the *French*, is taken from the insertion of the words, and also *Annapolis Royal* : but to give this argument its full force, we shall state it in the words
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of their false oracle *Charlevoix*, who, after re-
 citing the quadrupartite division of the country
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Acadia is reduced to the south coast of the pen-
 insula, " Would not one say," adds he, " that
 " the treaty-makers had in view the opinion of the
 " two most ancient authors, in relation to *Acadia*,
 " [meaning *Champlain* and *Denys*, as he hath
 " falsely quoted them] when they declare, in
 " the treaty of *Utrecht*, *That the most christian*
 " *King cedes to the Queen of England and her*
 " *successors for ever, All Acadia or Nova Sco-*
 " *tia, conformable to its ancient boundaries, as*
 " *also the city of Port Royal now called Annapolis*
 " *Royal, and in general, every thing which de-*
 " *pends on the said lands and islands of that*
 " *country?* For since this treaty adds *Port*
 " *Royal to Acadia or Nova Scotia*, it seems from
 " thence to follow, that the whole peninsula
 " was not comprized under the name of *Acadia*
 " proper or *Nova Scotia* *."

To this it is answered, that what he would
 fallaciously infer, does not follow, for the subse-
 quent reasons. 1. Because he supposes, the
 plenipotentiaries took only *Acadia* or *Nova Sco-*
tia, according to his own imaginary scanty
 bounds, under their consideration ; whereas it
 appears from what hath been said in the preced-
 ing article, that they had both countries at large
 in view. 2. Because, if this argument be of
 any significancy, *Port Royal* was not comprized
 under the name of either *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia* ;
 and then he furnishes a reason why it ought to
 have been expressly mentioned. In effect, as

* *Charlev. Hist. Nouv. Fran.* Vol. 1. p. 113, and Vol.
 2. p. 374.

it was sometimes annexed to the government of the *North-main* (particularly that nameless government mentioned by *Charlevoix*) it might be considered as a separate district from the peninsula; and by virtue of this cession we are intitled, by that author's own shewing, at least to so much of the *North-Main* as fell within that nameless government of which *Port Royal* was the capital. 3. Because Queen *Anne* directed Lord Privy Seal and Earl *Strafford* to demand, "that the *French King* should give "up all claim, by former treaties or otherwise, "to *New Scotland*, and expressly to *Port Royal*, "now in our possession." This, I hope will be deemed a sufficient reason for inserting the words, *and also Port Royal*, if there was no other.

On this occasion I must observe, that in all disputes of this nature, which concerns the meaning of treaties, when any difficulty or doubt arises, recourse ought to be had to the transactions during the negotiation, as the most proper way for removing or explaining them. Unless this method be allowed, *France* herself can shew no title that ever she had by treaty to the country in question, call it *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia*: which evinces how unfair it is to pretend to take advantage of single words in the treaty of *Utrecht*, contrary to the obvious meaning of all the rest, and tenor of the whole.

Having considered the objections of our adversary, I shall make bold to point out a few corruptions, which may be called forgeries, which he has committed in the above citation from the treaty of *Utrecht*. The first corrup-

tion is in writing all *Acadia* or *Nova Scotia*, instead of all *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*. By giving *Acadia* the preference, he would insinuate, that the country yielded up was properly and strictly no other than *Acadia*, and not *Nova Scotia*, farther than what might be comprised of it in *Acadia*: that thus the words *ancient boundaries* became appropriated thereto; and the bounds of *Nova Scotia* are governed by those of *Acadia*. But as the contrary is the case, and *Nova Scotia* is placed first in the treaty; those advantages which in that situation would have accrued to *Acadia*, must be ascribed to *Nova Scotia*; and thus his fraud turns against himself.

Secondly, after the words *Lands and Islands*, he has added *of that country*; which words are not in the treaty. And why has he done this? Doubtless, because he perceived the word *lands* might have reference to more than one country, that is, to both *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia*, considered separately as distinct countries. And in reality, altho' it was necessary, as those countrys were then united or supposed to be co-extended, that the words should run in their present form, viz. All *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, yet, they might as properly be read all *Nova Scotia* and *Acadia*, as hath been already remarked, and as we find it expressed in *Cromwell's* grant to *La Tour*, &c. And therefore, since by the treaty every thing was to be delivered up to *England*, which at any time had appertained to either of those countries; without doubt those words, *the said Lands*, three times repeated, refer to them, both jointly and separately considered. For otherwise, we should only have found the words, *the said Land*; which in strict propriety of speech,

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agree

agree better with the words *Nova Scotia or Acadia*.

I have yet one remark more to make on this occasion. In the inference which he draws from the words cited by him, he uses the term *Acadia proper*, which implies that there is an *Acadia in general*, or *at large*, from which the lesser is distinguished by the word *proper*, as it is usual in books of geography, when a province bears the same name with the kingdom, as we have already observed. This *Acadia at large*, which our impartial author never speaks of, is *Acadia* in its ancient and most extended state, as it existed from the first ; that is, in the time of *Champlain*, or was settled by *Lewis XIII*. It is with this general *Acadia* that *Charlevoix*, and the *French* geographers, ought to have joined *Nova Scotia*, instead of the proper *Acadia*, as he has done in consequence of two very false assertions, viz. "That the name of *Nova Scotia*, in *England* it self, is given only to the " peninsula ; and that it never extended over " both the peninsula and continent at the same " time." But as we have proved the contrary beyond exception, this alone ought to oblige them to retract their errors and correct their maps.

There is yet another clause to be taken notice of, in the 12th article of the *Utrecht* treaty, which contributes not a little to confirm all which we have said with relation to the bounds and extent of *Nova Scotia or Acadia*, as delivered up by the treaty. It is, that which concerns the fishery : for by it the French are excluded from all kind of fishing, within 30 leagues
of

of the shore, in the seas, bays, and other places [that is rivers, ports and banks] on the coast of Nova Scotia, stretching along to the S. W. of Sable (or Sandy) island. Observe first, that the name of *Nova Scotia* only is used here, which plainly indicates what has been already insisted on, that the country or countries comprized under that name, was the object which the *French* as well as *English* ministers had chiefly in view.

Secondly, the *French* are prohibited to fish not only in a single sea, such as washes the coast of the peninsula between the capes *Sable* and *Canso*, but also in all the seas indefinitely, to the W. or S. W. of the *Island Sable*: Among which is included that of *Nova Scotia*, extending westward from *Sable* island to the borders of *New England*. In like manner to *Nova Scotia*, within those aforesaid limits, belong the bays, not only of all isles, *La Have* and the like, which are found on the said coast; but also the bays of *St. Mary*, *Annapolis*, *Minas*, *Shignekto*, *St. John*, and *St. Croix*, (all excepting the first contained in the great bay of *Argal* or *Fund*) together with that of *Penobscot* more to the west.

Lastly, the words, *on those which lie towards the east*, imp'y that there were other coasts belonging to *Nova Scotia*, besides those under consideration. Now, as those referred to by the words above cited, include all which lie along the seas and bays to the W. or S. W. of *Isle Sable*; that is, all the coasts both of the peninsula and the main, to the borders of *New England*, as hath been proved in the second remark; consequently the implied coasts must

be those within, and out of, the *St. Lawrence* bay, extending from *Cape Canso* to *Cape Rosiers*. In effect the *French*, by the clause above-cited were tacitly permitted to fish along this coast of *Nova Scotia*, as not being prohibited from fishing in the seas and bays to the east or north of *Isle Sable*; but absolutely excluded from exercising that business on any of the coasts of *Nova Scotia* to the westward of that isle, within 30 leagues of the shore.

Having now done with the *French* demands on *Nova Scotia*; it can not be improper, in our turn, to set forth the more just pretensions which the *English* have to *Canada*. This I shall do on much better grounds than those on which Mr. *Robert*, has ventured to comprize the *British* dominions, under the name of *Canada*, without alledging any authority for his innovation or invasion: nor can he, I'm sure, produce any good one. Some authors indeed have called the same extent of country *New France*, from *Verazani's* discovery, real or pretended, in 1524, which yet was 27 years posterior to that of the *Cabots*: but I do not remember that the name of *Canada* was ever given to it by any judicious and equitable *French* geographer before Mr. *Robert*: and this I may venture to assert, that his nation has no right of conquest to those dominions, as the *English* have to *Canada*. We ground our claim to this country first, as being the prior discoverers of all the north part of *America*, from 34 to 66 degrees of latitude under the *Cabots*, in 1497. Secondly, in the intire conquest of it in 1629, by *Kirk*. Thirdly, on the grant of *Cromwell* in 1655, to *De La Tour*, Sir *Thomas Temple*,

Temple, and others; wherein a considerable part, if not the whole, of *Canada*, is made over to those proprietors.

If the *French* should say, that *Canada* was given up to them by the treaty of *St. Germain*, in 1632; we deny it, and insist, that the places only were given up, and not the lands: for which we quote the authorities before mentioned, of both King *Charles I.* and *Cromwell*. Besides, in case both had been ceded, yet as the conditions of that treaty were never fulfilled, particularly with respect to the sums of money made payable thereby, for that reason, the whole is void. It is void also by the trespass which the *French* have now made on *Nova Scotia*, according to the tenor of Queen *Anne's* manifesto, dispersed in *Canada* in 1711; when the expedition for the reduction of it was on foot: wherein it is said, "that *Canada* belonged to the *English*, by priority of discovery; and "that what the *French* possessed there, was by "grants from the *English*, and consequently "hold it only as a fief; and therefore where "the possessors turn enemies, it reverts." Now for my part, I know no greater sign of enmity, than to come and settle in the midst of their neighbour's country, not only without their consent, but even by downright force.

The *French* cannot pretend that the above recited reasons are weak or insignificant, who yet alledge as very solid ones, others which are not near so strong. But, in case they were as frivolous as theirs, they can have no objection to them on that account. Nor ought they to

have less force than solid arguments, if they were not such, because in reality the *French* are not intitled to any : for with those who use chicanery, chicanery must be taken for argument. Neither can they pretend to alledge the sense and meaning of the *St. Germain* treaty, against the letter of it ; since, altho' both sense and letter of the treaty of *Utrecht* be clearly for us, they will allow neither.

'Tis true, altho' we all along were apprized of our title to *Canada*, yet we suffered it to lie dormant, thro' a desire rather to lose something, than to have disputes with our neighbours : however, since the *French* have not only seized on the greater part of one province, and invaded another with repeated hostilities, but begin by indirect methods to lay pretensions to the whole *British* empire in *America* ; they have shewed the *English*, that it is high time for them to look to their interests, and at the same time put them in mind to revive their antient claim to *Canada*. Nor is this claim a novelty, started on the present occasion, but is a claim which *England* has always kept up, as appears from the clause in *Queen Anne's* manifesto above recited. These reasons I think, are sufficient to justify our pretensions to *Canada*. What follows will shew the vanity and impropriety with which *Mr. Robert* has included the *British* dominions in *America*, under that name.

I therefore, in the last place sha'l perform my promise, made p. 23 to refute the false assertion of *Charlevoix* ; “ that from the earliest times
“ the savages gave the name of *Canada* to all
“ the

“ the country on both sides of the river [of
 “ *Canada* or *St. Lawrence*] particularly from its
 “ mouth to *Saguenay*.” This the hard-mouth’d
 writer ventures to affirm, without the least
 proof to support his words; on occasion of
Cartier (or the writer of his voyage, who was
 with him in 1534) saying, *that the country does*
not begin to be called Canada, till you come to the
island “ of *Bacchus* [now *Orleans*] near *Quebek*.
 In this he says the relator “ is most certainly
 wrong;” and having proved it with a most im-
 pudent *ipse dixit*, above recited, then drops it.
 Indeed that was all the best of his play, nor
 durst he enter farther into the question: for *Car-*
tier expressly says, that *Canada* was a country
 or kingdom, lying between those of *Hosbelaga*
 (where *Mont Real* now is) and *Saguenay*; and
 Mr. *Roberval* was afterwards appointed by the
 King of *France* governor of them, as so many
 different countries.

From hence we learn two things: first, that
Canada was originally so far from being the ge-
 neral name of the country, on both sides the
 river, or even of that at present so called; that it
 was no more than a small part or district of it,
 on the north side of the river only, whereof
Kebeke was the chief town: secondly, that *Canada*,
 instead of lying from the mouth of the river *St.*
Lawrence to *Saguenay*, lay to the west of the
 country of *Saguenay* (so called from the river
 which still bears that name) which therefore
 lay between it and the mouth of the river, 250
 miles distant, if it did not extend so far. What
 abandon’d principles must the man be of, who
 can assert so many glaring falsehoods, as we have
 exposed, which may be so easily confuted? But

it must be considered, that as some people think lying for the cause is a proof of their zeal, so the greater the *lie* the greater the merit ; which would not sufficiently appear, if the fourberie was not easily detected.

The *French* indeed, wanted very early to comprehend the lands on both sides of the river *St. Lawrence* under some name which might seem of *Indian* original ; and as that of *Canada* had obtained among them for the river, they were desirous to give it to the country. *Lescarbot* made the first attempt, thinking it proper, “ that “ like the *Indus* the banks on both sides should “ bear it’s name * ” To bring this about he pretends that the people of *Gaspé* [or *Gaspe*] and the *Baye de Chaleurs* near it, are called *Canadians* ; and so from a few people of that name, in this corner of the continent, and at a vast distance from *Canada* itself, at least 360 miles, with other nations of *Indians* between, would have the country, at least the south bank of the river, called *Canada*. But, as neither *Cartier*, *Champlain*, nor *De Monts*, who were in the same bay for some time, mention any thing of *Canadians* inhabiting the country, it is doubtless a fiction of his own, grounded on an ancient tradition mentioned by authors, and among the rest by *Charlevoix* himself, *viz.* that certain “ *Spaniards* having entered the bay of *Chaleurs* “ or *Heats*, before the time of *Cartier*, and “ finding no mines as they expected, often repeated the words *Aca nada*, that is, *here is* “ *nothing* ; which the *Indians* having since then “ often utter’d when they saw any *Frenchmen*,

* *Lescarbot. Hist. de la Nouv. Fran. l. 3. p. 229.*

these

" these latter concluded that *Canada* was the
" name of the country*."

On this false foundation some geographers give the name of *Canada* to the country, which in *De Mont's* patent of 1603, is termed *Gaspé* or *Gaspesia*, as it has been generally called ever since. *William de L'Isle* observing the inconsistency of placing a colony of *Canadians* at such a distance from *Canada*; and on the other side of the river, with other nations of *Indians* and countries between, in his map of *New France*, or *Canada*, published in 1703, restores *Gaspesia* to it's ancient place, and transplants *Canada* from the eastern to the western corner of *Nova Scotia*, south of *Quebek*: which, tho' more consistently situated than *Lescarbot's Canada*, is not, for any thing that appears, at all more real.

Thus, we think it is sufficiently clear from what has been said, that the name of *Canada* was never given to the country south of the river *St. Lawrence*, or to any part of it; neither was the whole river it self, any more than the country to the north, called *Canada* from the first, even by the *French*: for as *Canada* was originally but a part of that country, so the river was called *Hosbelaga* from the country of *Hosbelaga*, before it took the name of *Canada*. In a word, the country south of the river *St. Lawrence*, being inhabited by different people, the several parts of it took names according to the nations among whom it was divided: but it is clear from the testimony of *Champlain*, that from the first the whole went under the denomination of *Acadia*, whether given to it by the

* *Charlew. Hist. de la Nouv. Fran. Vol. i. p. 9.*

Indians

Indians or French. This name was confirmed to it, and its limits established by *Lewis XIII.* in 1632 or 33.

From this time we find the name of *Acadia* constantly given in treaties to the country yielded to the *French*; and as both the main and peninsula were always given up, tho' no other name was used; hence 'tis plain all *Nova Scotia* was comprized under that denomination, unless the *French* can shew that, under the name of *Acadia*, nothing besides the peninsula was given up.

In short, there needs no plainer confutation of *Charlevoix's* assertion than this, that the country south of the river *St. Lawrence* does not at present go by the name of *Canada* among the *French*, nor is it so denominated in their maps, or indeed by any general name; neither has that author told us when the name of *Canada* (if it ever had such) ceased, or what name took place of it.

With regard to my strictures on *Charlevoix*, I presume no reader, who is a friend to truth and justice, will think me too severe on a man who prostitutes the two sacred characters of divine and historian, to serve the cause of imposture; and is capable of forming the infamous design of violating treaties, and defrauding a nation in amity with his own, of a considerable country, by the grossest falsehoods, quibbles, and prevarications which perhaps ever polluted history. The *French* themselves have reason to execrate both him and his legend, (which henceforth they ought to suspect in every thing)

since

since his design was evidently to embroil them with their neighbours, and draw them into an unjust war; without the least real ground or colour on their side. By inventing such palpable falsehoods, he betrays their cause instead of defending it: and establishes the evidence of the treaty of *Utrecht* in favour of the *Englisch*, by the means which he hath employed to defeat it.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

- P. 3. l. 5. for *Cartior* r. *Cartier*.
 p. 4. l. 11. for 1625 r. 1621.
 p. 8. l. 2. dele *called*.
 p. 13. l. ult. for *Nova* r. *Novas*.
 p. 46. l. 20. after *has* r. in his *Remarks*.
 p. 48. remove *the* from the end of l. 31. to the end of l. 32.
 p. 50. l. ult. for *Mem.* r. *Merc.*
 p. 57. l. 5. for *Country* r. *Countries*.
 p. 58. l. 20. after *either* put a full stop;

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